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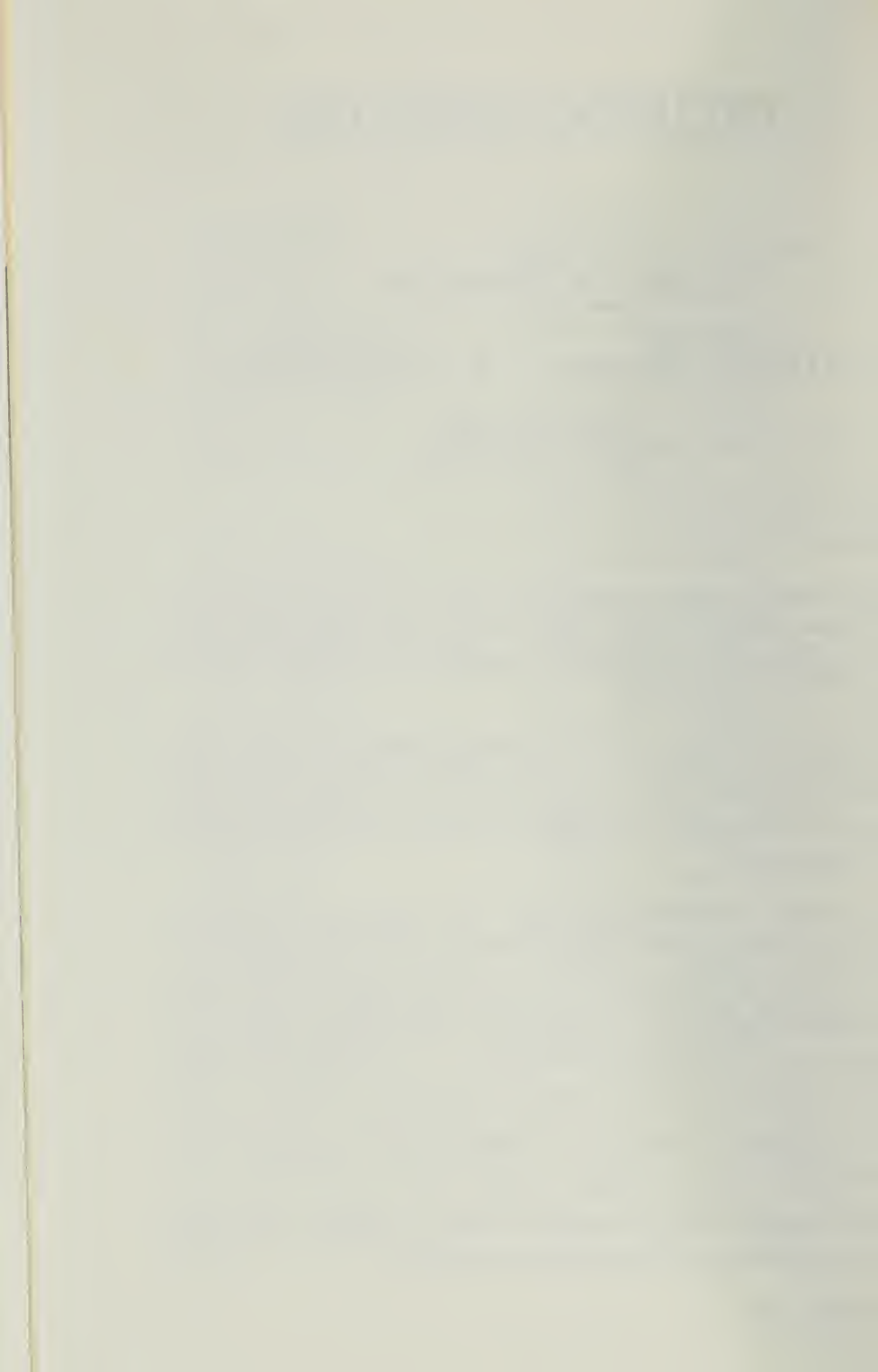
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PACIFIC STUDIES

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THE ROAD TO POWER IS A CHAINSAW: VILLAGES AND INNOVATION IN WESTERN SAMOA

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Analyses of Samoan village agriculture have concluded that the sector, organized as it is, cannot provide an effective base for significant increases in agricultural production and have identified elements of village social organization as a major obstacle to growth. This paper argues that Samoan social organization, per se, is not an obstacle to economic growth and provides examples of entrepreneurial individuals who have adopted items of technology and strategies that have increased both productivity and profitability in village agriculture. In no case did village social organization constrain their activity and in each case the extended family recognized and rewarded the individuals' enterprise by giving them chiefly titles. This sector's failure to attain higher productivity lies not solely, or even primarily, in the social organization of the village, but in rational consideration of the costs and benefits of various economic alternatives.

Continuous contact between Europeans and Samoans commenced when the Reverend John Williams of the London Missionary Society landed in the Samoas in 1830. The early colonial history of the Samoas was a turbulent one, marked by various colonial powers' attempts to assert their dominance over one another and over the Samoans. Events of the period were made more complex as the Samoans attempted to resolve long-standing internal political rivalries and to resist European attempts to assert dominance. The turbulent history of this period, well documented elsewhere (Gilson 1970), highlighted the need for a more permanent arrangement.

At the turn of the century the Samoas were partitioned in an arrangement designed to rationalize European nations' interests in the Pacific. The islands in the east of the group came under the formal protection of

the United States and became known as American Samoa, while those in the west came under the protection of Germany and became known as German—later Western—Samoa. From that time the nature of political and economic influences on the two groups diverged progressively.

This paper is concerned only with the western group, an independent state since 1962, consisting of four inhabited islands and numerous islets with a total land area of 1,093 square miles on which some 160,000 people reside in some 360 villages. Some 28 percent of the population resides in or around the port town and capital, Apia. The remaining 72 percent of the population resides mainly in coastal villages in rural areas and derives its living from a mixed cash crop and subsistence agricultural regime on some of the 82 percent of the land that remains in customary title (*fanua tau Samoa*) and under the control of family chiefs (*matai*). Remittances from emigrant Samoans in New Zealand, the United States, and Australia supplement the incomes of both rural and urban sectors (Shankman 1976; Macpherson 1981).

The 156 years of contact have been punctuated by numerous attempts to analyze the social and economic bases of Samoan primary production. Most of these attempts were born out of a desire to increase Samoan primary production, albeit for different reasons. The motives of those involved, and the quality of the analyses, varied considerably over the period. Earlier discussions were motivated variously by theological concerns,¹ self-interest,² and a need for Samoan plantation labor.³ These accounts tended to focus on the contribution that primary production might make to the advancement of European and part-European interests.

Later analyses, for the New Zealand administration, were born out of responsibility for overseeing the development of the League of Nations mandate and preparing the United Nations trusteeship for independence (Boyd 1969). These tended to focus on the prospect of economic self-sufficiency for Western Samoa and the contribution that primary production might make to the national economy.

The most recent analyses, for the Western Samoan government and aid agencies, have also focused on village agriculture and the need to stimulate primary production to achieve a higher standard of living for rural villagers, a more equitable distribution of national income, the development of a currently underused national resource, and a reduction of the nation's economic dependence.

The most recent and most comprehensive studies of Western Samoa's agricultural production have identified various agronomic, infrastructural, and social factors that have been thought to be responsible for the

relatively low productivity of village agriculture (Ward and Proctor 1980; Western Samoa 1982a, 1982b; Fisk 1986). While the relative emphasis on each factor varies, the studies identify the same groups of factors.

The analyses of agronomic factors point to various physical and environmental limitations on production. Analyses of infrastructural obstacles have identified the provision of credit, agricultural information and advisory services, marketing arrangements, transport, and commodity price fluctuations (Western Samoa 1982a:30-32). Analyses of social obstacles have identified traditional village land tenure systems, reward for effort, the orientations of producers (*ibid.*), growth in the domestic wage economy, emigration and remittances, provision of services, and the strength and conservatism of the social system (Ward and Proctor 398-400). This paper is concerned with the nature and importance assigned to social factors in these analyses.

These studies tend to portray village farmers as persons who might wish to increase production and to farm more productively but who are hemmed in by tradition and obligations derived from tradition that prevent them from doing so. Thus Hau'ofa and Ward argue that, while specifics of situations may vary,

the social context within which the greater proportion of Pacific Island farmers still operate was largely developed to meet the needs of an integral subsistence system. . . . As a result, present-day farmers in the Pacific are frequently unable to meet the requirements of successful commercial agriculture because of obligations whose origins lie in the older system. Conflicts arise in the allocation of time and capital, in the mobilization of labour, and in the disposal of produce or the distribution of financial returns. (Ward and Proctor 1980:52)

The same authors go on to suggest that

the subsistence based mixed subsistence-cash cropping mode of production, while achieving the initial commercialization of integral subsistence farmers, is an unsuitable vehicle for sustained growth in production and incomes. . . . Little progress is likely to be seen in the agricultural sector until fully commercial operations, generally on a somewhat larger scale, begin to replace the socio-commercial operations now conducted by the vast majority of smallholders. (*Ibid.*:402)

The Western Samoan government has apparently been persuaded to a similar view and noted: "The agricultural sector—the traditional and the most important source of foreign exchange earnings—has not been able to register an increase in productivity or to generate the income in foreign exchange necessary to support the country's development programmes or the people's consumption levels" (Western Samoa 1982b:2). In a series of proposals for the reorientation of agriculture, the government proposed, as a consequence, to "develop and implement projects that help reconcile the need for economic orientation in village agriculture with the traditions and customs of the Samoan people" (*ibid.*:7; Western Samoa 1982a:20–22).⁴

Such general evaluations of the limitations of village agriculture deserve careful examination, particularly if they are to become the basis of national resource allocation policies (Ward and Proctor: 400–401; Western Samoa 1982a, 1982b). There is a tendency to claim that village institutions and social organization have led to the stagnation of agriculture without outlining the models and the data on which these claims rest and without making explicit the connections between the two. Part, at least, of the pessimism about village agriculture may be due to the models employed to understand production and to locate causes of low productivity. Part is due also to the tendency to employ aggregate data to construct national patterns and the tendency to overlook local variations in the process. Both of these possibilities are considered briefly below.

Some of the models used to explain economic underdevelopment in the Third World have their roots in early modernization theories that sought, and located, the causes in the social organization of Third World societies. This led to criticisms of "tradition," "traditional values," and "traditional social structure." Underdevelopment could be traced, according to these theories, to traditional values and institutions that obstructed some supposedly rational tendency to maximize profit. Only when obstructive values and institutions were identified and transformed could development occur. These assumptions led to an emphasis, some would say an overemphasis, in the models on the limiting role that elements of "traditional" social organization played in production.

These same models tend to overlook the role that extraneous factors play in villages' response to innovations. Villages may react in different ways to the same opportunities for reasons connected with the ways in which innovations are introduced. The limited success of the government's innovative Rural Development Programme, which ran from

1977 to 1982, can be traced to the ways in which the scheme—rather than the village—was organized (Young and Gunasekera 1984:20–24). The availability of remittances from migrants and opportunities for wage work will vary from village to village and influence villages' responses to agricultural development initiatives. It may be that reluctance to become involved owes less to village organization than it does to rational consideration of the returns on various labor investment opportunities. Villages can hardly be held responsible for the labor demands of New Zealand's manufacturing industry!

There are also methodological issues that emerge from the ways in which data on village agricultural productivity become incorporated in statements about national patterns. One might question the validity of generalizations about all Samoan villages. There is a very considerable diversity in villages' responses to a range of phenomena and these are shaped by such things as the composition of leadership and available physical and economic resources. At any one time throughout Western Samoa, the agricultural productivity of individual villages can and does vary considerably, pointing to the limitations of generalizations at this level.

Villages can and do respond in quite different ways to the same opportunities. Responses to initiatives such as new technologies and strategies aimed at increasing agricultural productivity may differ from village to village. It might then be argued that the pessimistic assessments of village agriculture's potential, derived from aggregate data, tend to lead to generalizations that overlook variations within the sector.

Closer attention to village data may still obscure important variations within individual villages. Families respond in different ways to similar opportunities as the case studies below illustrate. Villages in turn respond differently to the activities of innovative families. Some observe and copy while others observe and then seek to limit.

It seems important to go beyond broad generalizations about the poor performance of village agriculture and the role that tradition and social organization play in that performance. The futility of such generalizations is illustrated by the fact that evidence can be gathered for any one of a number of generalizations about the role that villages play in defining agricultural productivity.

The suggestion that village social organization actively *discourages* the adoption of innovations that could increase productivity and transform the economics of village agriculture finds support in national agricultural production statistics, which show that, despite the availability

of improved agricultural technology and a relatively young, vigorous work force, production volumes for most agricultural commodities have declined and continue to do so.

The suggestion that village social organization actively *encourages* adoption of innovation finds support in the fact that Samoans have proved repeatedly, since contact, that they are able to appreciate and capitalize on the advantages of new crop species, technologies, and market opportunities. Some villages have adopted new crops and techniques and have achieved very high levels of agricultural production, which suggests that there is nothing inherent in their organization that leads to an inevitable resistance to innovation.

It is possible to construct yet a third position, which is that villages are essentially neutral to introductions designed to increase agricultural productivity. Evidence can also be assembled to show, as this paper will, that studies of innovators and innovations suggest that village social organization is essentially neutral. It neither necessarily encourages nor discourages those who introduce innovations that increase either profitability or productivity in village agriculture. In each of the three cases presented below, the villages involved allowed the innovators to introduce technologies and strategies without obstruction. In each case it was within the power of the villages involved to intervene, directly and indirectly, in the activities of the people involved.

Even when apparent that the innovations were generating new wealth that had the potential to change the existing distribution of power and influence, those in power in the villages made no attempt to limit or constrain the activities of the people involved. When—and only when—the innovations were demonstrably successful, those who had set them in place were rewarded in each case with positions of authority within either their extended kin groups, the village, or both. In no case could village social organization be depicted as the principal force for or obstacle to innovation.

Case Studies

Refrigeration

Before electricity became available in the villages, food preservation techniques were somewhat limited in Samoa, which meant that food production was necessarily a continuous process. At any given time a village or family had to have in production sufficient food for its domestic consumption and a surplus to allow for unexpected, and often large,

visiting parties (*malaga*) from other villages. Over and above this, further surpluses were generated to meet specific, planned requirements connected with village and family projects, such as house and canoe building. For such projects additional food had to be available to feed and provide gifts for specialists (*tufuga*) and their attendants.

The labor requirement in preparation, planting, tending, and harvesting was significant. Surpluses from one season's crop could not be preserved, so the labor requirement was a recurrent one. The work was heavy and monotonous but was critical to ensure that at any time a village, or a family, had sufficient to meet planned and unplanned requirements.

Continuous overproduction meant that surplus food that could not be stored had to be either consumed by its producer or given to other families, and a pattern of continuous redistribution of food was a part of village life. Those who gave their surplus to others were in due course the recipients of others' surpluses and thus overproduction did not necessarily lead to wastage. It set in place a pattern of reciprocity that permitted a smoothing of supply and demand irregularities while settling old social obligations and creating new ones among those involved in the exchanges.

While some crops could be left in the ground or on trees until needed and while some cooked plants could be kept for several days, meat had a short safe life and was at the center of reciprocity. Thus a family that caught or was given a pig had to dispose of it because they could not keep it long. Pigs were cooked, butchered, and distributed in a process known as the *fa'asoaga ole pua'a* in which specific cuts were distributed in more or less set ways (Te Rangi Hiroa 1930:119-122). The same was true of fowls, turtles, and fish. Varying degrees of formality surrounded this distribution: in some cases where it was part of a major public ceremony the distribution was highly formalized. In other cases it was an informal and largely unheralded response to oversupply and the absence of a means of preservation.

Irrespective of the degree of formality, the pattern of more or less continuous exchange of food underpinned and sustained other forms of cohesion within extended families and the villages of which they were part. Individuals and families were more or less continuously in one another's debt and debts created in food could be discharged in various other ways. At the center of this dense pattern of rights and obligations was the necessity of distributing temporary surpluses that could not be stored.

Refrigeration transformed this pattern. Electric, gas, and kerosene

refrigerators and freezers made it possible to store surpluses of meat and removed the necessity of redistributing them more or less immediately. While custom and practice favored redistribution, refrigeration meant that it was no longer essential.

The high cost of refrigerator and freezer units, the limited availability of electricity, and the cost of other fuels meant that access was limited initially and the benefits were unevenly distributed. As the benefits of freezers became apparent, interest grew and some of the perceived benefits were outlined in letters to and conversations with migrant children in New Zealand, selected excerpts of which are translated below.

L . . . 's family bought him a fridge with two doors. The top one is not so cold and the bottom one is very much more cold. It is very good for keeping shellfish and now L . . . 's wife doesn't have to go to the lagoon all the time which is good because she is very old like me.

We were given a nice cooked pig at a funeral at F . . . last week. We gave a piece to . . . and a piece to That was a waste because those families are so lazy. It's a pity we couldn't keep the meat in a freezer at the store.

If you buy a small amount of butter from the store, say a quarter pound, it's almost as expensive as buying a whole pound from Morris Hedstrom wholesale. With a fridge you can store the whole pound instead of just buying the small pieces and paying the high village store prices.

Your father went fishing on his own last week. His fishing friend . . . did not go for several days because he had some fish in the fridge which his children bought him. He is getting lazy now and doesn't go if it gets rough and he has some fish in the fridge. But your father still goes every day even when it's rough. We could put some of our fish in that family's fridge but I don't trust them all the time.

The fridge is very useful. Your sister took the food to the market but there was a lot there and the prices were low in the afternoon when she got there. She brought the food home and put it in the fridge, then she took it back to the market two days later and sold it. It got a better price.

These comments reveal a clear appreciation of the benefits of the technology involved. First, food that is not immediately required can be stored and recycled and can save families from killing stock that they would otherwise have had to kill. Refrigeration may also save families from having to buy stock for *fa'alavelave* (celebrations of life crises such as weddings, funerals, successions to titles, and so on) at prices that reflect sellers' awareness of the buyers' circumstances. Second, the ability to refrigerate food allows people to take advantage of price fluctuations and to exert some control over the circumstances in which they market food crops and fish. The return on certain activities can therefore be increased. Third, it offers people a degree of flexibility. It allows them to vary their activities in ways that were not formerly possible and increases the amount of discretionary time. This is clearly convenient and raises the possibility of using the time to increase productivity.

The technology then has considerable potential that could be exploited by those with an entrepreneurial flair, an appreciation of long-term possibilities, and a relatively small amount of capital, which need not even be generated locally.

These changes however, have a social cost resulting from the fact that food that would have been redistributed in other circumstances is saved. Food that would have been the basis of a continuous reciprocity pattern is withdrawn from circulation. The density of obligations that underpins continuous cooperation is diminished as a consequence. People acknowledge a decline in the amount of exchange but also point to the practical advantages. There is no sense in which a tradition such as the *fa'asoaga ole pua'a* hinders appreciation of the practical and immediate benefits of refrigeration.

Nor does the potential social disruption, outlined below, that refrigeration can cause in established power relations prove to be an obstacle to its introduction. The benefits that come from ownership are unevenly distributed within a village, but the distribution does not necessarily reflect established patterns of power. Migrant children of even poor families can provide refrigerators for their parents and ensure that they derive the benefits that come with ownership. This raises the possibility of social mobility and of disturbing traditional rank-wealth correlations, which might be expected to lead to attempts by those with power to control innovation and its associated benefits. And yet, as the following case illustrates, this is not necessarily so.

A family in a small village in Savai'i bought a refrigerator with money sent from the U.S. by their daughter. The husband and his son were very keen, able fishermen and set out to catch surplus fish, which

they stored in their refrigerator and sold to other families. They kept a few highly prized bonito, which are sought after for important events, because they attract high unit prices.

As others became aware of the benefits of refrigeration, the family offered them the opportunity to "hire" freezer space for a percentage of the goods that were stored in the freezer. As the person involved noted, the hire was made available to discourage others from buying refrigerators and was attractive to users because of the apparently low cost when compared with that of a refrigerator.

The proceeds of "hireage" were resold either within the village or on periodic trips to the Apia market when prices were high and where goods could be sold at a higher price than he felt he could have asked in the village from those who had caught or produced the items. The family did very well financially, invested profits from sale of produce in a range of goods that they sold in a small store, and diversified progressively until, in recognition of their acumen, the older man was offered the family title.

He acknowledged that the prospect of his accession to the title would have been far less likely in other circumstances. The sons of the previous title holder did not succeed their father, and to this day it is a source of annoyance to them.

He accepted the title and now spends a considerable amount of time working on affairs of the family, church, and village. While he maintains an interest in his business, now run by his wife, he noted that a *matai* is often too busy to give a business full attention and must take factors other than profit into consideration in running it. He has complete faith in his wife's management because, as he noted, she is a Samoan and "understands these sorts of things." The business is still profitable but must now carry higher "service costs," which come with his responsibility for the extended family and which he recognizes are necessary to win the support and continued cooperation of those originally antagonistic to his appointment to the title. This "generosity" includes carrying sundry debts, extending credit, providing services free to kinsmen for which he formerly charged, and so on. But, as he noted wryly, it is the cost to secure support of the family, and an essential ingredient in the family's united front and the respect that this has earned them within the village.

The initial surplus, which might have excited economists and modernization theorists, seemed largely peripheral to the Samoans who recount such stories. The surplus and its exploitation was a vehicle to power within the village; it was used for enhancing the power of the

'*aiga* (subgrouping or branch) within an '*aiga potopoto* (descent corporation), a demonstration of the talents of an individual, and an explanation of the basis of tension between branches of a family—all of which are unrelated to any national or sectoral goals.

Furthermore the beneficiaries made no attempt to establish a monopoly over their "vehicle" to preserve their advantage and acknowledged the impossibility of doing so. They had no interest in doing so because the vehicle had already served their ends. The man noted that since he had been elevated to the *fono* (village council) he had been instrumental in persuading the *fono* to install a village-owned generator and a power reticulation system so that everybody could have power. Similar trends emerge from the study of the use of another innovation, herbicides, by another entrepreneur.

Herbicide

One of the most significant obstacles to large-scale agricultural production in Western Samoa is groundweed control. The weeds grow very quickly and compete with planted crops for moisture and micronutrients in the soil. Their rate of growth is such that they are also capable of shading crop plants, limiting their growth, and even smothering them.

The clearing of groundweed is a difficult task and typically involved considerable amounts of labor. When the labor came from one's family, it was "paid" for by reciprocation at some later time, often in kind, and by feeding the work force. Where help from outside the family was involved, the work force was fed and usually given a payment of some kind. The larger one's family, the larger the area that could be brought into production. The ability to increase the area in production to create a surplus insured continuing prestige for the family involved.

But groundweed regenerates very quickly and requires continued control to protect a young crop through to harvest. Thus a continuing supply of labor was required by those who wished to plant crops, labor that had to be paid for in the ways outlined above. A family's ability to bring a crop to harvest depended on its size and its ability to prevent dissension that might lead sections of a family to withhold labor. Smaller families had either to limit production or secure labor from outside the family, which would have to be repaid in kind. There were marked limits on production that were directly related to the amount of labor available to a group; this fact tended to produce a degree of stability in patterns of social stratification within villages.

Furthermore, large families able to produce large surpluses could manage these surpluses to create significant sociopolitical capital, which ensured their continuing power and prestige within village and district affairs. Samoans have a number of kin groups with whom they may choose to reside and to whom they may give their primary allegiance. Because individuals' prestige is related to that of their kin group, many people tended to align themselves with larger, more powerful groups rather than smaller, less powerful ones. This exercise of options tended to favor larger groups, which tended to grow in size, and to work against groups that were smaller. Furthermore, as groups grew larger, they could bring more land into production and win the sort of prestige that attracted still more members. The stability of village "orders of precedence" (*fa'alupega*) over time reflected this trend.

Transformation of social stratification patterns required significant increases in production, which generated a surplus that could be managed to produce increased sociopolitical capital for a family. Where this occurred other people might be persuaded to align themselves with the group and set the path for still further increases in production. The main obstacle to the transformation of social stratification lay in the economics of production, specifically the labor-intensive nature of agricultural production.

The availability of effective and inexpensive herbicide transformed this relationship between family size and productive potential. It became available through the Department of Agriculture, which sought to increase national agricultural production. Since agricultural production is concentrated in the "traditional" village sector, incentives and subsidies were made available to make herbicide and spraying equipment affordable and attractive to the small producer. The campaigns were a success and herbicide use among small growers became very popular.

The case outlined below shows how an untitled man (*taule'ale'a*) used herbicide to increase his production. The case also shows that the village and kin group, or more specifically those with power within them, made no attempt to obstruct the introduction of a herbicide-based small crop regime or to intervene either directly or indirectly in its operation even when apparent that new wealth represented a potential challenge to them.

A middle-aged small farmer in an Upolu village borrowed a knapsack sprayer from his brother and bought a small container of herbicide from the Department of Agriculture. He cleared a small plot of customary land well beyond the limits of the village with the herbicide and a

bushknife. He extended the plot without assistance and planted two lines of vegetables obtained as seedlings from the agriculture department. He used the herbicide regularly to control regeneration of weeds and a pesticide to control damage to the crop. He persuaded the owner of a small truck to take his first crop to market for a percentage of the sales and spent some time talking to other sellers and market officials about prices.

With the proceeds of the sale he bought more pesticide, more herbicide, and more seedlings. He harvested the second crop, salad vegetables, and took it to the market on a Saturday, the day he had been told that many Europeans and salaried Samoans did their shopping. His daughter, who spoke good English, went with him and made conversation with European customers, who were apparently impressed with the woman and the vegetables and asked whether he would be selling the same line again and when. He left the market with requests to hold certain amounts of given lines for particular customers and some produce presold.

Part of the early profit went to buy a small motorized cultivator, a knapsack sprayer, hand tools and a second-hand refrigerator. He bought larger containers of fertilizer, pesticide, and herbicide and resold some to other farmers. When theft became a problem he built a small, permanent shelter near his garden and slept there. When wild pigs became a problem he built a pen near the garden, caught them, and with advice began to breed his own for sale.

He and his wife and children developed an increasingly specialized operation, selling top quality fruit and salad vegetables to a small, relatively wealthy clientele who were happy to pay top prices that were still lower than the price of imports. The business was built on the use of herbicides to increase and then to maintain the amount of land in production, pesticides to control pests to insure top quality products, and fertilizers to insure that crops grew to maturity in terms of volume and timing as closely as possible to meet market demand. Surpluses were kept chilled in the old refrigerator rather than sold at a reduced price and second-grade products were sold in the village. Eventually he bought crops from other producers in the village, who were by now copying his example, but took care to buy to order and bought only the best available. He was thus able to increase the range of crops without carrying the production cost or risks.

The family contributed conscientiously to village and family projects, and as their reputation for dealing profitably with Europeans became established the family won respect from other members of the extended

family and within the village. The daughter was sent to New Zealand and became a conscientious remitter. The man's contributions to the church led to a deacon's seat in the session; his sons' success and several gifts to the school led to a position on the school committee. Of these he valued the deaconship more and marveled at the fact that a person who had only recently learned to read the Bible had been elevated to such positions.

His family split the title and he was offered a title, which he accepted. His oldest son followed his daughter to New Zealand and became a generous supporter. The elder man continued to work in his garden but found that more and more of his time was consumed by village affairs. He has less need of the money now and today maintains the garden primarily to feed his family. He wants his two younger sons to go to college and work in town eventually and encourages them to spend their time studying.

Reflecting on his experience, he noted that he was lucky and that herbicide was a critical ingredient in his success.

At that time, one of my wife's relatives was working in the Department of Agriculture and showed me the trial gardens at Alafua [the agriculture campus of the University of the South Pacific located behind Apia]. I knew I couldn't pay the village to come to help me but I saw where the boys had been using the paraquat with the spray pump. I borrowed the pump from my wife's relative and used the paraquat. I laughed when I saw some of the families weeding their gardens because they don't like doing that work because they get sore backs and get sunburned and so they don't do it often enough. The *matai* is very proud to see the people working and the big garden but he forgets the people get fed up doing that work and that by the time he fed them his profit is all eaten up. They do a better job in their own gardens than in his garden. That's why those things don't work so well. . . . I know my family doesn't mind because our work is easier and quicker. We got better prices for our produce and the European is a good customer because they are all cash and no humbug. We used the plans and the products from the department because we did not have anything to lose. Some people are too proud to take advice, especially once they are *matais* and can get the people to work for them.

Here again is a case of a small producer who successfully seizes an opportunity to increase productivity by adopting an innovation. Nor is

there evidence that his motive in doing so was to challenge traditional leadership or social organization. Though he realizes that certain aspects of traditional organization are relatively inefficient, he made no attempt to challenge them directly. Furthermore, throughout the period, he and his household contributed labor to projects as required both by the family *matai* and the village *fono*. The leaders of the village made no attempt to constrain his activities even when his method of capital-intensive agriculture was in more or less direct competition with their own more labor-intensive method and was exposing some of its limitations. In fact, his adoption of innovation led eventually to his co-optation, which again reflects on village attitudes to the use of innovation. Furthermore, the fact that other households sought to emulate his method suggests that he was not the only person disposed to adopt proven innovation in agriculture.

The irony is, of course, that innovation—having provided the vehicle—is no longer needed. Here a person has proven willing and able to embrace modern techniques within a clearly thought-out marketing strategy to generate a profitable surplus and, later, to capitalize on his marketing “network” and sell contacts rather than produce.

This illustrates the difficulty facing those who seek to sustain high levels of agricultural production in the village sector. The same utilitarian rationale that leads people to adopt innovations is used to decide whether or not to retain them. The economic and social advantages of new technologies are recognized and their role in success acknowledged, but after serving as the means to an end their value declines. In this case, even the need for a maintenance regime has declined because the man's children are now remitting. Nor is the successful strategy passed on, because he has aspirations for his children outside of agriculture, although it might be said to have been passed on to those who continue to emulate him. No part of this case study, however, could be construed as a case of a village actively discouraging the introduction or use of innovation. The same sorts of lessons emerge again in a third case study.

The Chainsaw

Extended kin groups derive their identity from association with a particular piece of land in a given village and a title in which control of the land is vested. In fact, a family is said to be all those connected to the land and the title (*o e uma e tau ile fanua ma le sua fa*). Title holders (*matai*) allocated land to kin on which to build houses and for subsistence production. The house sites were generally within villages and the agricultural lands behind the villages.

Matai could afford to be generous in the allocation of land use rights to untitled members of their extended kin group because they were secure in the knowledge that there were real limits to the amount of land that could be cleared by any household unit. This limit was imposed by the available technology, which consisted principally of bushknives and axes, and by the problems involved in maintaining cleared land through the production cycle.

Internal challenges were limited by the difficulty of generating the surpluses necessary to challenge the existing leadership of the extended kin group. This might have been possible if smaller households could have "hired" the labor to generate surpluses, which could have been the basis of a challenge. But since such arrangements would have depended on their ability to feed and pay labor, and since they had insufficient resources to do this, the necessary capital creation never occurred.

Furthermore, *matai* could mobilize the resources of their extended kin group at any time when members could be persuaded that it was in their collective interest to contribute. These resources were ostensibly mobilized on the group's behalf and to enhance its sociopolitical prestige. Skillful, public disposition of these resources in ceremonial contexts could also enhance a *matai*'s personal prestige. Regular calls on a kin group's production for such events limited capital accumulation by members, insured that *matais* had the resources to consolidate personal prestige, and in the process limited the prospect of internal and external challenges to their dominance.

The chainsaw was another contribution to the drive to increase productivity in village agriculture. Its potential is considerable, permitting more rapid clearance of forest and more effective utilization of the land thus cleared. The chainsaw transformed the relationship between the size of the domestic unit, its production potential, and indeed the return on its labor. Virgin forest could be cleared and brought into production more quickly. Fallen trees could be cut into small sections with a chainsaw and removed, where before they would have been left because of the difficulty of cutting them up for removal. Thus smaller areas of land could yield the same "effective areas" much more quickly and profitably than had been possible previously.

Furthermore, smaller groups could clear and manage larger areas more quickly and efficiently than had been possible previously. With this arose the possibilities of creation of surpluses that they could not have attained previously. The following case illustrates this process.

An untitled man of some fifty years of age used a gift from his son in the United States to buy a chainsaw. To the amusement of friends and

family he sought and obtained permission to clear about fifty acres of land. He reasoned that

I have a small immediate family [domestic unit]. I knew I couldn't make a big plantation. I couldn't have paid the people to come and weed a big plantation all the time because I would have had to feed them each time. If I wanted to do that I would have had to run up a debt at M . . . 's store. I've seen some people in our village run up such a big debt that they used most of the profit to pay the debt.

I know the people respect the family that can pay the women's committee [*Komiti o le Tūmama*] or the youth club [*'au talavou*] to do the weeding and can feed them. But I thought that if I only used the chainsaw, I would only have to feed my family and the chainsaw. When we finished our job we wouldn't be saddled with a big debt. . . .

I didn't care when people thought I was crazy to start on a big job like that. I didn't care if people knew I couldn't feed them . . . and in any case some people might have thought that I was trying to act big if I started out like that.

He felled the first large trees near an access road and, instead of burning them, cut them into heavy, rough-sawn planks that he sold to people for house building and to a milling company for further milling. He used some of the timber to stake his crops and to build a stockyard and pigpen in the cleared area near the access road, where they were visible to those passing on the way to plantations.

Interest shown in his projects led him to "mill" timber for others wanting to build these relatively cheap pens. After he had planted his first crop in the cleared area, he continued felling and selling timber for construction and firewood. He invested in a larger, special purpose chainsaw to mill planks and some chainblocks and a winch to move heavier timber about, and continued to fell timber further away from the access road as planting and maintenance allowed. Timber that could not be sold was exchanged for cattle and pigs.

The enterprise was very successfully financially and his ability and willingness to contribute both cash and goods to various family, village, and church *fa'alavelave* were recognized and acknowledged. His immediate family's standard of living rose, but their modest material aspirations and sense of responsibility meant that they continued to recognize obligations to others.

Before long he was offered and accepted a *matai* title in the family that he had served for so long. Now his recognized talents have been harnessed in the administration of the affairs of his family and of his village, on whose council he now holds a place. As he said on reflection, "There is a saying in Samoan, that the road to power is service [*ole ala ile pule ole tautua*]. Well, I suppose it's true but in my case I suppose you could say that my path to power was the chainsaw [*ole ala i la'u pule ole ili afi*]. Without the saw I might still be serving."

Neither the family nor the village actively offered obstacles to his employing new technology, indeed a technology with the potential to challenge the existing distribution of power and wealth within the village. In fact, they patronized his venture and contributed indirectly to its success. When it was successful, they formally recognized his industry and entrepreneurial talents and sought to incorporate those skills in the management of family and village activities.

There is a further irony in this case. Here someone with a migrant child on whom he might have come to depend for remittances chose to set up a venture and continue to expand production even when it was, strictly speaking, unnecessary.

Discussion

These case studies provide evidence of an appreciation of the economic advantages of specific innovations, a flexibility within village social organization that permits their adoption, and a willingness on the part of individuals to employ them effectively and productively. To argue as some analysts have that Samoan village social systems are inimical to innovation is, as Pitt (1970) has noted, to misunderstand their potential. E. K. Fisk, in a recent summary of trends in Pacific agriculture, noted that villages' contribution to failure has resulted because the "operation, and thus the potential of the mixed subsistence/cash sector, has not been properly understood and taken into consideration in planning agricultural development" (1986:2).

The "problem" may in fact reside in the limitations of some models used by planners to understand economic underdevelopment, which sought the causes in elements of the social organization of Third World societies. This approach to the problem of underdevelopment led to a preoccupation with the limiting role played by "tradition," "traditional values," and "traditional social organization" because the identification and transformation of obstructive values and institutions were consid-

ered prerequisites to "economic development." These assumptions led to an emphasis, some would say an overemphasis, on the role that social organization played in shaping production and a corresponding underemphasis or neglect of the role of extraneous variables.

This is not to suggest that social factors do not influence patterns and levels of agricultural production. But low levels of agricultural production have been attributed to village social structure when in fact farmers' decisions about production recognized and took into account a number of other factors. How then *does* the social organization of a village influence the agricultural production?

There is evidence that interest in, and enthusiasm for, innovation is influenced by individuals' aspirations within the village and by whether or not, in their view, it can serve to attain those aspirations. The difficulty for those who seek to increase production in this sector on a permanent basis to attain national economic and political goals may not be in finding entrepreneurial villagers to adopt innovations that improve productivity, but in persuading the same people to maintain productivity after the innovations have served their aspirations. Inasmuch as this is true, the village may have an indirect impact on decisions about agricultural production. But this stops a long way short of some deliberate and active attempt on the part of elements of social organization to constrain the efforts of those who seek to increase production.

A distinction must be made between limitations on production that result where individuals choose to vary production levels as a consequence of rational evaluation of various alternatives or as they redefine their personal goals, and those that are determined or constrained by the elements of social organization, specifically village or family.

In fact neither the village nor the family has reason to constrain production, since village institutions typically benefit when those who create new wealth "invest" within the village. By bestowing *matai* titles on such people, they lock them and the resources they control into patterns of rights and obligations. The greater the resource that can be thus locked in, the more power is potentially available to the village. This was certainly the case in each of the case studies.

But even if one allows that the social organization of the village defines, or at least influences, aspirations and the amount of production required to attain them, it is certainly not the only factor that determines farmers' decisions about agricultural production. If the village is essentially neutral to innovation, a more productive approach to explain productivity in the sector may be to identify the factors that

shape the production decisions of individual farmers. This involves a somewhat different unit of analysis and will lead to consideration of factors both within the village and outside it.

One factor that has shaped production decisions of Western Samoan farmers has been the availability of opportunities for nonagricultural employment outside of the village. The disappointing performance of the sector in the last twenty-five years stems as much from the relatively high levels of outmigration from villages to the capital, Apia, and from Western Samoa as it does from village social organization. In this respect it simply reflects the fate of many peripheral states in the world system in similar circumstances. As Shankman (1974) noted, the demand for low-cost labor in industrializing nations led to high levels of emigration from Western Samoa. Most emigrated to New Zealand, but smaller numbers moved through New Zealand to Australia and through Pago Pago to the United States. This migration impacted on Samoan primary production in three ways.

First, those who began to receive remittances from migrant kin overseas could and did reduce production. Shankman's work graphically illustrates the relationship between remittance levels and agricultural production volumes. Because New Zealand immigration regulations favored younger, able-bodied people, many of those who migrated were the people who could have been expected to make a significant contribution to agricultural production. The impact of this phenomenon differed from village to village. Those with more remitters abroad could afford to reduce production more easily than those with fewer.

Furthermore, many people who remained but who expected to migrate were reluctant to make long-term commitments to agricultural development from which they would not ultimately benefit. The choice between an investment in agriculture and an airline ticket was not a difficult one for many people. This led to a tendency to defer production by significant parts of the village work force and undoubtedly contributed to a decline in agricultural production. It was, however, an entirely rational decision on the part of those involved as the following statement suggests: "When my brother said he would get me a job in New Zealand, my father told me not to worry about extending the plantation. It was sensible because I knew I could make much more money in one week in a factory than I could make in one year in the plantation. I got a job driving my family's taxi in Apia to save some money for the family and for my fare."

Second, the growth of opportunities for waged and salaried nonagri-

cultural work outside the village, and the prestige these enjoy in Samoan society, attracted many talented young people who might otherwise have been expected to make a significant contribution in village agriculture. Thus it is not uncommon to hear young people in Apia say: "When I first came to Apia to get a job in the office I was embarrassed because I thought everyone could tell I was from 'the back' [a colloquialism for rural villages]. I liked our village but I did quite well at school and my parents told me that it was a waste for me to stay and work in the plantation because I had a good head. I was sent to Apia to get a job and my parents hoped that I would go to New Zealand."

The collective effect of numerous such decisions made in villages throughout Samoa would have been to displace the sort of talent that might have increased village agricultural production. It is certainly not the action of a conservative group seeking to bolster tradition.

Third, in some villages that established migration "chains" early, the levels of outmigration were such that after a relatively short period they had high dependency ratios, which would have limited their capacity to sustain production at premigration levels—much less generate surpluses—even if they had considered it worthwhile to do so.

Whatever the "real" reason for poor sector productivity, migration, aid, remittances, and the temporary reduction in population growth rates in the 1960s and 1970s relieved some of the pressure for increased productivity. But a combination of factors has meant that pressure for improved performance in the sector is again growing. Slow growth in the domestic economy has limited opportunities for nonagricultural wage employment. Economic restructuring in the nations to which Samoans migrated may have spelled the end of the labor demands that generated opportunities for large-scale emigration from Western Samoa. Also, economic recession in the states to which Samoans migrated, high rates of inflation in Western Samoa (Western Samoa 1982b:3; Cole and Parry 1986:13), and the devaluation of the Western Samoan *tālā* have led to significant declines in the real value of wages and of remittances sent to Western Samoa.

Declining prospects of outmigration, slow growth in the small domestic wage sector, and the lower levels and reduced purchasing power of remittances may force villagers to reconsider the possibilities of agriculture as a means of sustaining a standard of living to which they had become accustomed, or attaining one to which they aspired. The coincidence of these factors might seem to provide the preconditions for stabilization of the rural population and for increased primary production.

It also necessarily refocuses attention on the role village production plays in the national economy and raises the old question of whether it can, as presently organized, attain the levels of production which are sought. It may well be that the village farmer's evaluation of the value of increasing agricultural production under these conditions will reflect a rational awareness of changes in the opportunity structure.

Pessimism about the sector may be less productive a response than the provision of information that will allow farmers to appreciate the nature of structural changes occurring outside the village and their significance. If past decisions about production have rationally incorporated data on the significance of the growth of external labor markets, there seems to be no good reason why data on the contraction of these markets should not be equally rationally incorporated. Such an approach may be more constructive than lamenting the constraining role of tradition.

The Western Samoan government clearly believes that this is so and anticipates tapping potential production in this sector by harnessing, rather than eliminating, tradition. In a report it proposes to "increase production, particularly in the case of village agriculture, by working through existing leadership and social organisations" (Western Samoa 1982a:18). There are good grounds for confidence in existing organization and leadership: these regularly mobilize considerable amounts of capital and labor to create major assets. Nor is there good reason to suppose that village organization per se offers an obstacle to increased production, as the above cases suggest.

But the task is a formidable one because the same village structure that is capable of mobilizing considerable amounts of labor, capital, and leadership to build churches, schools, access roads, and various other community amenities is also capable of determining the range and duration of projects for which a community may be mobilized.

The challenge for planners may be to provide information that persuades people in the sector that increasing agricultural production is the most rational use of effort at this time. Leaders have first to be identified and persuaded; because of the variability in leadership within villages, a single approach to this problem is unlikely to succeed. This task should become easier as people become aware of the consequences of changes taking place outside of Samoa. The transformation of labor markets outside of Western Samoa is already being felt in fewer opportunities for migration and reduced value of remittances from migrants. Once leaders persuade individuals in families and villages that increased agricultural production represents the most constructive re-

sponse to the situation, there is no reason to believe that the village or family per se will act as a constraint. In short, there is more ground for optimism than is typically supposed.

NOTES

The cases on which this paper is based were studied in the course of research into Samoan indigenous medicine in Western Samoa in 1980. Cases were encountered, rather than sought out, amongst the author's relatives and friends in three villages. Information was also subsequently collected from relatives living in Auckland, New Zealand. I am indebted to La'avasa Macpherson for perceptive comments on an earlier draft. The research was supported by the University of Auckland under its sabbatical leave provisions.

1. Missionaries sought to instill the habit of productive labor in their converts in the hope that it would lead to the decline of the most "objectionable" aspects of tradition (Pitt 1970:19).

2. Traders' interests in increased primary production were born primarily out of self-interest, because they depended on Samoans growing and selling commodities to obtain cash to buy European trade goods (Gilson 1970:182-183). Their profits, from the resale of primary produce and trade goods, were related to the volumes of production they could acquire from the Samoans.

3. Plantation owners sought to engage Samoan wage labor, which yielded small but regular incomes. They presumed that this would prove more attractive than subsistence but were unable to attract sufficient numbers of Samoans into this work at rates that they considered economic (Gilson 1970:182-183) and had eventually to employ indentured Chinese and Melanesian labor to work the plantations (C. H. Grattan 1963:356, 357).

4. This statement seems to confuse economic and commercial orientation. It is incorrect to suggest that village agriculture is "an-economic" simply because attained productivity falls short of attainable productivity. There can be no suggestion that village farmers lack an economic orientation. The orientation of village farmers is most accurately described as "sociocommercial."

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MĀLOSI: A PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPLORATION
OF MEAD'S AND FREEMAN'S WORK
AND OF SAMOAN AGGRESSION

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This article's intent is to take a step toward clarifying the nature and the place of aggression in Samoan social life. Aggression has always had a focal place in Samoan culture. In pre-Christian times, Nafanua was the only divinity who was worshiped throughout the Samoan islands (Stair 1897:220). Nafanua was a war goddess.

The importance of aggression in Samoa is evident not only in religious history, but also in the language. *Mālosi* is the Samoan word for strong, forceful, and even violent behavior, but unlike the English word aggression, *mālosi* has positive rather than negative connotations. When people ask "How are you?" ("O a mai 'oe?"), a common response is "*Mālosi*." Indeed, the Reverend George Pratt, who wrote the first Samoan dictionary, translates virtue itself as *mālosi* ([1862] 1977:152).

Mālosi is also the word for strength and in Samoa strength is the very hallmark of manhood. For example, should a son show reluctance to do heavy physical work, his mother might say, "*E leai se aogā, e fai ai le na mea tautau!*" ("There is no use your having that hanging thing!"). Although physical prowess is not a definitive attribute of female gender identity, girls and women also take great pride in their ability to win a fight.

To truly understand a word, and the concept it reflects, one must also examine related words and root words. *Malōlō* is to be brawny or muscular, like a boxer. *Malōlōina* is the word for health. Thus health and brawn are equated in the Samoan vocabulary. *Mālō* (the root word of *mālosi*, *malōlō*, and *malōlōina*) is a common greeting. However, *mālō* also means to be victorious in war and is the word for government. *Fa'alemālō*, which literally means to make victory or to make government, actually refers to politics. Politicking is, after all, a method for becoming victorious.

A unique characteristic of the Samoan language is that nouns and adjectives can be made into verbs by adding the prefix *fa'a*, or *fia*. *Fa'a* means either to make, or the way of, or the manner associated with an object or an adjective. For example, to speak Samoan translates as *fa'asamoa*. *Fia* means to want to make or to do. For example, *ai* means to eat; *fia'ai* is to be hungry. *Fia*, inasmuch as it entails a desire to be rather than a state of being, can also have connotations of imitation, and sometimes even caricature. *Fiapalagi* means to want to be like a *palagi* (Caucasian); it is a deprecatory term.

When *mālosi* becomes a verb, it takes on negative connotations similar to those of aggression in English. Whereas *fa'amālosi* can mean merely to force or to enforce, it also means to rape.¹ *Fiamālosi* means to be looking for a fight. Although Samoans believe it is admirable and necessary to be strong, "making" strong is the object of social disapproval. And so, despite all the positive associations in the Samoan language of strength and force, Samoans are in fact deeply ambivalent about aggression.

To be potent (*e i ai le mālosi*) is expected of every man and a lack of children will provoke derisive comments about a man's "power." Nonetheless *fa'amālosi*, which means to prove one's manhood with an unwilling girl, is deplorable. To win (*mālō*) is the best, but merely to be looking for a fight is base. As the common etymology of these words signifies, the roots of the desire to win, to politick, to govern, and to aggress are the same in the Samoan language, as is their psychological source. It is this source—the root that is both the origin and the bond linking the significance of all *mālō* words—that this paper seeks.

Exploring the real nature of Samoan aggression is a pressing matter in current Pacific ethnography, because a great deal of confusion about the Samoan psyche, and specifically about Samoan aggression, has arisen as a result of the Mead/Freeman controversy. Mead and Freeman address fundamental psychological questions. These questions concern the nature of child development in Samoa and its effects, both on the tenor of

Samoa adolescence and on the prominence of aggression in adult personality.

Mead offers Samoa as a radical alternative to socialization in our own society. In her Samoa the social environment is so tolerant and non-threatening that aggression has lost its *raison d'être* and is as invisible as a phantom (Mead [1928] 1973). Freeman portrays Samoan childhood as extremely violent and intimates that this violence leaves a smoldering aggressive undercurrent in the personality that expresses itself in "outbursts of uncontrollable anger," "acts of suicide," and states of possession (1983a:219-221). Shore disapproves of Freeman's book, but says its value lies in presenting the "darker strain" of the Samoan psyche (1983:937). Others accuse Freeman of slandering Samoans. They argue that Freeman replaces an extremist view of Samoan personality as exceedingly erotic with a view of Samoans as wildly fierce (Ala'ilima 1984:91-92; Wendt 1984:92-99). Felix Wendt, of Western Samoa, complains that Freeman makes Samoans "appear like the gang hoods in Charles Bronson's 'Death Wish II' " (1984:95) and contends "that the overriding characteristic of the Samoan ethos is *alofa* (love)" (ibid.:96). Leacock tells tales of nineteenth-century fire-and-brimstone missionaries who were aghast at the permissiveness of Samoan parents toward their children (1987:182-183).

The tendency in American anthropology has been to divide the two sides of this controversy into the good guy (namely Mead) and the bad guy (namely Freeman) and to dismiss the bad guy. Goodness knows Freeman, in his manner of writing, gave us ample excuse (McDowell 1984). However, now that the dust has settled, it is time to admit that this maneuver is too easy. In the analysis of culture the issue is how to combine a cacophony of information into a harmonious perspective in which apparently contradictory elements make a common sense. In the present case, what is wanting is a perspective from which these conflicting statements about Samoan aggression dovetail.

To resolve the enigma of Samoan aggression, two kinds of inquiries are necessary, inquiries that I will undertake in the pages to follow. First it is necessary to bring to light the psychological biases implicit in both Mead's and Freeman's work and the stance on aggression entailed in these biases. When their positions on psychology in general, and on Samoan psychology and aggression in particular, are elucidated, it becomes possible to adjudicate the merits of their respective arguments.

However, to truly fathom Samoan aggression, a further study of Samoan culture itself is in order. My analysis will draw on the copious

ethnographic data that exist on Samoa and on my own six years of residence and research in Samoa. My experiences as the wife of a Samoan, as a member of a Samoan *'āiga* (extended family), and as a teacher at a Samoan college will also provide a source of data. In the course of this analysis, I will show that while (as Freeman vehemently argues) Mead's work is marred by her unwillingness to acknowledge the presence and importance of Samoan aggression, Freeman's is marred by his tendency to assess and judge Samoan aggression in Western terms. Freeman is right that, socially, aggression finds its roots in and takes its character from early relations with authority figures. However, what is needed is to understand these relations in Samoan terms. Only then can we ferret out the place of Samoan aggression in adult personality.

I will begin at the historical origins of this controversy, by unearthing the psychological biases of Margaret Mead. Within these biases we can discover her stance on Samoan aggression.

Mead: Psychological Biases and *Coming of Age in Samoa*

Boas's influence on Mead has been the subject of much comment over the past few years, but Freud was another major influence on her early work. Mead's career as a whole had its genesis in psychological concerns.² At Barnard College Mead majored in psychology. Her circle at Barnard has been described as "intensely involved in Freudian psychology" (Sheehy 1977:334). In the 1920s, for those anthropologists who, like Mead, were concerned with psychological development, Freudian ideas represented a major, if not the major, theoretical paradigm.³

Mead discusses the initial relationship between Freudian and anthropological influences on her thinking in *Blackberry Winter*: "I entered my senior year committed to psychology, but I also took a course on psychological aspects of culture given by William Fielding Ogburn, one of the first courses in which Freudian psychology was treated with respect" (1972:111). Clearly Ogburn was not alone in his respect for Freud; Mead shared Ogburn's admiration. Ogburn had a lasting influence on Mead's work.⁴ He and his wife were her lifelong friends. Ogburn himself, Mead says in her autobiography, was one of those who "left their mark on my life forever" (ibid.:287).

When she was halfway through her master's thesis, Mead decided to shift her focus to anthropology. Nonetheless the questions Mead took to the field were essentially psychological ones. Of her work in Samoa Mead says, "the principal emphasis of my research was . . . psychologi-

cal rather than ethnographic" (1969:3). In her own words she had merely switched the locale of her work from the psychology lab to the South Seas, but as she so eloquently clarifies in her introduction to *Coming of Age in Samoa*, only the "laboratory" had changed, not the substance of her psychological inquiry (Mead [1928] 1973:3-4).

If Mead's intellectual interests were psychological in nature, why did she become an anthropologist? Anthropology united the various strands of Mead's personality and thought: the psychologist and the adolescent girl who had wanted to be a minister's wife and help in the work of redemption (Mead 1972:84). Ruth Benedict, seeking a convert to anthropology and to Boas, appealed to the missionary in Mead. Mead became convinced that traditional cultures had to be "saved" not from paganism but from extinction (ibid.:114). Where Christianity had blazed the trails, anthropology followed. By writing about these seemingly frail and perishing specimens and the psychosocial options they represented, Mead meant to carry on her own very sophisticated version of the work of salvation. Anthropology became the means to a vocational mantle that was archetypal in nature, lending Mead's thought, her speeches, and most certainly her writing both verve and numen.

Mead, however, was no colonialist in her orientation. She did not believe that only traditional cultures needed rescuing and, therefore, she subtitled her book *A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization*. Mead meant to redeem not only the more exotic blossoms of the species, but her own culture as well, by presenting Americans with moral lessons on human development. *Coming of Age* is one such lesson, an apologue informed by Freudian humanism.

As Freeman points out, *Coming of Age* speaks to the greatest psychological debate of the 1920s: the nature of adolescence as a phase of psychological development. The idea that psychological stages of development might be correlated to biological maturation had long been gathering weight in Western thought. In *Centuries of Childhood*, Philip Aries argues that childhood was a new concept in nineteenth-century Europe. Before the Industrial Revolution, children were regarded merely as miniature adults rather than as having their own distinct identity. Because the idea of childhood was novel in the nineteenth century, it was also preoccupying and magnetic (Aries 1962). The novels of Charles Dickens, peopled with naively sagacious children, exemplify this nineteenth-century love affair with childhood.

If the nineteenth century was the era of the child, then surely the twentieth century is the era of the adolescent. Toward the end of the

nineteenth century, the job market in America reached complete saturation for the first time. No longer was there a great need for young workers. In the cities adolescents began to hang about the streets and to form gangs. Concurrently public schools and a prolonged education for young people became increasingly popular. These historical sparks brought a new stage of life into florescence, one with its own unique problems (Bakan 1977:16–22).

In psychology these adolescent problems provoked a dispute that has been known ever since as the nature/nurture controversy. The bone of contention was to what extent were the problems of youth caused by hormonal changes and to what extent did their origins lay in historical and social conditions. Was it nature or nurture that was responsible for the emotional tempests that beset puberty?⁵ As Mead put it, “Are the disturbances which vex our adolescents due to the nature of adolescence itself or to the civilization?” ([1928] 1973:6–7). The time of life Mead examines in *Coming of Age* was determined by a number of factors: Boas’s interest in Stanley G. Hall’s work (Freeman 1983a:316), her own age and sex (Mead [1928] 1973:5), and so on. However, her answers to these questions as to the nature of adolescent problems can be traced back to her more private and older interest in psychology and in the writings of Sigmund Freud.

From a Freudian viewpoint psychological problems, including those of adolescents, are born of an inherent conflict between social mores and individual instinct. In *Civilization and Its Discontents*, Freud writes: “The two processes of individual and cultural development must stand in hostile opposition to each other and mutually dispute the ground” ([1961] 1962:141). Why? Because, Freud believed, society profits from individual frustration. Energy that cannot be released in immediate gratification is redirected, through sublimation, to higher social aims.

However, Freud also argued that, while a margin of profit was to be gained through the social exploitation of the individual, society had gone beyond the limits of that margin. Modern Western society had begun to damage the mental health and stability of its basic resource, upsetting the ecology of the self.

According to Freud, the superego (the internalized agent of the state) “in the severity of its commands and prohibitions . . . troubles itself too little about the happiness of the individual” (ibid.:143). Freud reasoned—and his reasoning has changed the course of Western social history—that civilization could demand less of the individual to the benefit of both. This is the position Mead takes up in *Coming of Age*.

Mead's Samoa

American society was not singular in marking off an intermediate phase between childhood and the established roles of adult life. In Samoa, according to Mead, incessant industriousness was required of the child and adult life was laden with heavy social responsibilities. But between childhood and adulthood there was an intermediate phase, often more prolonged than Western adolescence. As Mead described it, this Samoan adolescence was a moratorium in Erikson's sense of the word (Erikson 1963:262). Responsibilities lightened and possibilities for play and exploration opened.⁶

Because Samoan society shared this phase of life with our own society, it offered a comparative frame of reference. Mead used this reference point to assay Freud's belief in the essential contrariety of the individual and the social order. In *Coming of Age* Mead is concerned with questions that are Freudian in nature. This is not to say that she always agrees with Freud about the answer to those questions. In fact *Coming of Age* is meant as a foil and a counterpoint to much Freudian dogma.⁷ However, Mead has no argument with Freud's basic premise. Freud believes that society's intolerance of instinct is internalized by the individual at key points in childhood and adolescence. These internalizations generate intrapsychic conflicts. The conflicts in turn lead to mental illness (S. Freud [1961] 1962:99-118). If Mead's Samoa represents a saner solution to the problem of socializing the individual, it is precisely because Samoan society had resolved those problems of development that had been posed by Freud. Whereas Freud, more pessimistically, leans toward the idea that the conflict between the human body and the body politic is fundamental to the nature of society itself and is therefore universal, Mead sets out to prove that it is neither necessary nor universal.

Mead presents Samoa as a picture, call it a hypothetical picture, of how harmony between the individual and society could be achieved, and at what costs, for Mead was also aware of the costs. Whether or not Mead's portrayal of Samoa was accurate and, therefore, whether or not Samoa was in reality such a sane society is an issue I will consider later in this paper. For the moment, the issue is merely that Mead saw Samoa as a kind of vindication of those positive potentialities of human society, which had been disparaged in Freud's work.

Freudian theory has, of course, been the object of decades of critique by both anthropologists and psychologists. Nonetheless we will see that Mead's use of Samoan society to explore certain of Freud's ideas is per-

suasive and that her specific developmental foci in *Coming of Age* are derived from her early work with Ogburn and his Freudian biases. Boas conveyed nothing to Mead as to what her methodological approach to the problems of adolescence should be (Holmes 1987:5) and gave her but a half hour's advice before her departure for the field (Barnouw 1983:431). In her 1959 memorial lecture to the Philadelphia Association for Psychoanalysis, Mead tells us who was responsible for the direction of her Samoan research.

Then in 1925, Franz Boas (who was, it must be remembered, a product of the German culture of his time and who had, in fact, competed for a scholarship in psychology) set me a field problem on adolescence. . . . I had read quite thoroughly in the available psychoanalytic literature of the day, in the unique course through which Columbia University students were introduced to psychoanalysis by William Fielding Ogburn. What this provided me with as a background to research was primarily a directive to look closely at family life, at the early relationships of parents of the same and opposite sex, and at children's relationships to their own bodies; it also alerted me to conflicts arising between the springing sexuality of adolescents and the authority and jealousy of parents and elders who sought to control them. (Mead 1959:60)⁸

In regard to Ogburn's clearly Freudian directive, Mead saw Samoa as presenting a series of radical and appealing contrasts to American society. For example, Mead says American adolescents of the 1920s were "denied all firsthand knowledge of birth and love and death, harried by a society which will not let adolescents grow up at their own pace, imprisoned in the small, fragile and nuclear family from which there is no escape and in which there is little security" ([1928] 1973:ix). Samoans, however, were acquainted with the facts of life from childhood: "All of these children had seen birth and death. They had seen many dead bodies. They had watched miscarriages and peeked under the arms of the old women who were washing and commenting upon the undeveloped foetus. There was no convention of sending the children of the family away at such times. . . . In matters of sex the ten-year-olds are . . . sophisticated, although they witness sex activities only surreptitiously" (ibid.:74-75). These children, Mead writes, also had some firsthand familiarity with sex. During latency children indulged in "homosexual play as experimentation without any expectation of, or fear of, permanent object deflection" (Mead 1959:61). Thus,

“the facts of life and death are shorn of all mystery at an early age” (Mead [1928] 1973:75), and the frightening misinterpretations and mythification of these facts, which Freud associates with the child’s crises and complexes in Western society, could not arise.

American youth, Mead argues, were encouraged to achieve to the extent of their abilities and thus to direct their energies to the fulfillment of public and social ends. Contrarily, Samoans were taught to keep their places. *Tautalaititi*, the Samoan word for cheeky, specifically implies presuming above one’s age and thus insinuating oneself into the next rung of the social hierarchy. Instead of encouraging youth to progress, Samoans encouraged them to be patient and wait for age to carry them up the social ladder (ibid.:110). Although Samoan adolescents were expected to do the bulk of physical labor in their communities, it was far from all-consuming. Holmes, for example, tells us that only three days per week were spent procuring a week’s supply of food (1987:34). No one demanded that adolescents funnel the remaining portion of their energy into some form of getting ahead.

Whereas Samoan social development had a preestablished pace, personal development was not a matter for parental concern or pressure. As Samoans were not overly attentive to calendar age, they had no strong expectation about how a child of a particular age should behave. Mead, of course, believes this laissez-faire attitude extended to sexual development as well: “Both boys and girls slipped out of the latency groups in their own time, at their own speed. No one insisted that because of their *age* they should begin to show heterosexual awareness” (Mead 1959:61–62).

In Freudian theory and in Western society, discord between the individual and society had its roots in the nuclear family. Here the boy was necessarily tied to his father—once bitter rival, always the representative of an oppressive civil order—and to his mother, long desired even if that desire was later to be denied and half forgotten. The girl was likewise caught in inescapable cathexes. But in Samoa there was an easy escape when the stress caused by the nuclear family became acute. Children simply moved to the household of another relative. Relatives were bound by ancient tradition to give sanctuary to runaway members of their extended family (*‘āiga potopoto*) (Mead [1928] 1973:24). These alternative homes were grouped close together. Moreover there were no walls between them. The Samoan *fale* (house) lacks walls and traditionally divisions between families within an *‘āiga* were slight. Within Samoa’s generational kinship system, aunts and uncles were all referred to by the same word as parents, and were similarly regarded.

For Freud, socialization is achieved through an Oedipal conflict

between father and son. The boy loses the competition for his mother around the age of five. In lieu of possessing his mother, he identifies with the person who does, his father. However, his father represents moral authority to the boy. Hence when he internalizes his father, he also internalizes a set of social interdictions. In theory, the girl goes through a roughly parallel evolution vis-à-vis her mother. Mead thinks that in Samoa the Oedipus complex itself was undermined.

In Samoa, the nuclear family . . . was imbedded in an extended family; ties between mother and child were diluted by ties to other females who could succor and breastfeed the child. The close identifications necessary for the sort of super-ego formation which was recognized in our culture were diffused as young children were cared for by child nurses and many other members of the family. Authority was vested in a senior titled male—seldom the father of the young child—who presided over the whole group, not as a jealous head of a horde but as a responsible and honored organizer. (Mead 1959:61)⁹

Because childcare was turned over to a slightly older sister, the Samoan incest taboo was aimed at the brother/sister bond, rather than centering on the mother/son relationship.¹⁰ Mead says that Samoan development included a “conspicuous period of latency” (ibid.:61–62). The onset of this period was marked by a new-found shyness between brothers and sisters and their consequent avoidance of one another (Mead [1928] 1973:24–25).

If the family did not lend itself to Oedipal conflict in Samoa, presumably socialization proceeded along another route. Mead realized that it occurred for the girl through her role as a sibling caretaker. The girl's primary responsibility was to keep the little imp quiet so adults were undisturbed. If the tot made noise, the sister was punished. This interdiction created a balance of power between the older sister and her *tei*.¹¹ If adults were nearby, it was necessary to placate the child in order to control him. Thus she became something between the toddler's sovereign and his drudge. Her own willful behavior was mastered, not by one-to-one conflict with an authority figure, but rather by adjusting to the willfulness of her *tei*. Producing conformity in another brought temperance to the child's own behavior (ibid.:14).

From Mead's description of the *tei* relationship, one might also reason that this childcare situation provided other mollifying elements that eased the process of socialization in Samoa. The sister had authority

over her charge. Should she punish him, elders would support her action unquestioningly. The necessary identification with authority was produced, not by a conflict with a parental figure, but by her role.

In *Coming of Age* Mead even anticipates the developmental problems posed by later Freudians and provides solutions for them. Anna Freud attributes the rebelliousness of the adolescent to the reemergence and final resolution of the Oedipus conflict at this time (A. Freud 1946).¹² If, as Mead suggests, the Samoan Oedipus complex was focused on the relationship between brother and sister, then when this complex re-emerged at adolescence it would be less likely to generate antagonism between adolescents and parents.

Erik Erikson later argued that the tumultuousness of adolescence is due to an identity crisis. When the Oedipus complex resurfaces, developing individuals reject the shoulds that were earlier imposed by parental figures. In lieu of these strictures, adolescents seek to articulate their own values. They find these values among the alternative moralities proffered by modern society. The process of value selection amounts to a quest for individual identity and creates a crisis (Erikson 1963).

In *Coming of Age* Mead likewise attributes adolescent stress to the panoply of moral choices presented to the adolescent by modern society, choices that create confusion and intrapsychic conflict. In contrast to this she poses the moral placidity of Samoan adolescence.

In religion they [American adolescents] may be Catholics, Protestants, Christian Scientists, Spiritualists, Agnostics, Atheists, or even pay no attention at all to religion. This is an unthinkable situation in any primitive society not exposed to foreign influence. . . . Present-day Manu'a approximates this condition; all are Christians of the same sect. . . . Similarly, our children are faced with half a dozen standards of morality: a double sex standard for men and women, a single standard for men and women, groups which advocate that the single standard should be freedom while others argue that the single standard should be absolute monogamy. Trial marriage, companionate marriage, contract marriage—all these possible solutions of a social impasse are paraded before the growing children while the actual conditions in their own communities and the moving pictures and magazines inform them of mass violations of every code. . . . The Samoan child faces no such dilemma. Sex is a natural, pleasurable thing; the freedom with which it may be indulged in is limited by just one consideration, social status.

. . . Everyone in the community agrees about the matter, the only dissenters are the missionaries who dissent so vainly that their protests are unimportant. (Mead [1928] 1973:111-112)

The reader may well admit that Mead is preoccupied with Freudian issues in *Coming of Age*. However, she seems more interested in debunking Freudian views than in defending them. Indeed there was a great deal of Freud's work that Mead wished to argue with and did. As she comments in her lecture to the Philadelphia Association for Psychoanalysis, "I made my study in one of the few cultures in the world in which the vicissitudes to which children and adolescents are subjected were reduced to a minimum in just those areas which our early understanding of psychoanalytic theory had named as important" (Mead 1959:61). In what sense, then, can one say that *Coming of Age* was written under the sway of Freudian influences? Later in the same talk she asserts that "I believe that to the extent that psychoanalytic theory ascribes the Oedipus complex to the actual relationship between contemporary parents and children within a family, the Samoan findings confirm rather than dispute analytic findings" (ibid.:64).

In *Coming of Age*, Mead is simply taking the Freudian argument to its logical extreme. Freud says that mental illness finds its genesis in society's unreasonable demands upon the individual, demands transmitted largely by parental figures and in opposition to human "nature." Mead replies that a society could be created, indeed had been created in Samoa, that was not against nature but in accord with it. In Mead's Samoa the civilized source of psychological discontent was thus eliminated and adolescence was, therefore, "freer and easier and less complicated" (Mead [1928] 1973:x).

It must be added, however, that Mead feared eliminating discontent would also undermine intensity, individuality, and involvement with life. These were the qualities she found missing in her Samoan model of social harmony (ibid.). If Mead did not doubt that the conflict between the individual and society could be resolved, she had reservations about the wisdom of doing so. But while Mead had the sophistication to cast a critical glance at her own argument, it was nonetheless a psychoanalytical perspective from which that argument derived.

Mead critiqued analytic theory because she had always seen it as an extremely valuable tool, albeit one that required the corrective perspective offered by ethnography. She ends her memorial lecture with the very plea that underlies *Coming of Age*, a plea for psychoanalysts and anthropologists join hands so that "we might generate a joint psychoan-

alytic-anthropological theory upon which to base responsible recommendations for social change, as it affects the way we educate our young people" (Mead 1959:74).¹³

**Freeman: His Interpretation of Mead's
Psychological Position and His Stance
on Samoan Aggression**

In *Margaret Mead and Samoa*, Freeman portrays Mead as taking a cultural relativist position on human personality and in doing so underrating the importance of biological factors. Freeman does not ignore the centrality of psychological concerns in Mead's work. On the contrary, after constructing for the reader an anthropological polarity between cultural determinism and biological determinism, Freeman draws a parallel polarity in psychology between the "environmentalists" and the "instinctivists" (1983a:1-112)—and misplaces Mead within these polar sets.

Early in the twentieth century, Freeman tells us, the field of anthropology was dominated by a debate between the cultural relativists and the biological determinists. Biological determinism was, during the second decade of the century, taken up by the eugenic movement. Human nature, eugenicists argued, was hereditary and, therefore, biological. This claim was used to assert the genetic inferiority of certain races (ibid.:8). Rallying against racism, says Freeman, Boas was forced into a cultural determinist position and therefore contended that biology, and with it instinct, were not determining factors in human nature. In Freeman's portrait, Mead is a defender of the faith of cultural determinism, that faith preached by Boas. As a result, Freeman argues, both Boas and his student, Mead, underrated the importance of biological factors.¹⁴ However, Freeman bases this "biological" censure of Mead's work on a recourse to the history of psychological theory.

In the twenties, Freeman tells us, psychology was the stage for a debate roughly parallel to the one that raged in the field of anthropology. On one side of the debate, he says, were the "instinctivists." Freeman argues that "instinctivist" theory was the psychological analogue of biological determinism. On the other side, Freeman places the behaviorists, who were, like Boas, in a battle against hereditarian ideas. "Limiting the purview of psychology to overt behavior . . . led to the rejection of theories of genetic determinism and gave rise, in about 1920, to the anti-instinct movement" (ibid.:54). Freeman uses J. B. Watson to represent the behaviorists. Watson stressed the importance of

environmental factors in determining human nature and was "almost savagely against the notion of human instinct" (ibid.). Thus, Freeman suggests Boas, and Mead with him, are anthropological versions of J. B. Watson.

However, precisely which psychologists should be taken as representative of the "instinctivists" remains a mystery in *Margaret Mead and Samoa*. In light of the polarity that Freeman establishes, one can only presume Freud. Watson considered Freud his intellectual adversary, referring to psychoanalytic theory as a "mentalistic fiction" (Lindzey, Hall, and Thompson 1978:21). Freud certainly is responsible for forwarding the idea that human behavior is instinctually motivated.

Freeman's implication, that Boas and Mead with him are behaviorists, is far from accurate. In fact, Mead crusaded against behaviorism.¹⁵ In the preface to the 1973 edition of *Coming of Age in Samoa*, Mead says that "the pleas for a harsh, manipulative behaviorism among some psychologists make me wonder whether the modern world understands much more about the significance of culture than was known in 1928" ([1928] 1973:x-xi). Mead goes on to say it is, "alas," still necessary to stress the concept of culture "when psychologists dream of substituting conditioning for cultural transmission, just as the crudest behaviorists did in 1920" (ibid.:xi).

If *Coming of Age* represents one side of a dialectic (is Freeman really the synthesis?), this dialectic is surely not based upon a simple dichotomy between instinct and environment. For in *Coming of Age*, alongside her belief in Boas and cultural relativism, Mead was preoccupied with Freudian theory.

Freeman implies that the nature/nurture controversy of the 1920s centered on whether psychological problems stemmed either from biology or from culture. "If . . . these problems were caused by the biological processes of maturation, then they would necessarily be found in all human societies. But in Samoa . . . life was easy and casual, and adolescence was the easiest and most pleasant time of life" (Freeman 1983a:xi). Mead, like Freud, never says that psychological problems are either cultural or biological. She did not take issue with the universality of biological processes but with the necessity of a concomitant spiritual storm. Mead does not insinuate that biology fails to function in Samoa. The pubescent girls of whom she writes are surcharged with erotic feelings, but these biological impulses do not put them in opposition to their society.

It is not the biological element of human nature that Mead portrays as fluctuating from one culture to another, but only the nature of the

clash between the vicissitudes of the body and those of custom. The question is whether the culture at issue takes a stance that is essentially opposed to or in harmony with instinct. Mead's queries pertain not to biology, but rather to our Western civilization ([1928] 1973:6-7). Like Freud, Mead believed that the degree of dissonance between culture and nature suffered by our own society, and particularly by adolescents in our society, was unnecessary.

Freeman accuses Mead of favoring environment over instinct in the formation of human personality and, therefore, of ignoring the "genetic" for the "exogenetic" (Freeman 1983a:25, 29, 31). We have seen that this characterization of Mead is incorrect. However, Freeman's argument has yet another flaw. He is extremely vague about the nature of the "biological" factors that Mead purportedly neglects. Because his definition of biology is never explicit in *Margaret Mead and Samoa*, it must be deduced.

We do know that Freeman sets out to correct Mead's "deficiencies" through his own research. In the chapters where he attempts to supplement Mead's work, Freeman discusses sexual repression, evidence of social maladjustment such as suicide, and various forms of aggressive behavior. One can hardly argue that either sexual repression or social maladjustment are genetic problems or due to "phylogenetically given impulses" (ibid.:300). Thus one is left to conclude that Freeman sees aggression as the biological element missing from Mead's account.

In a few pages toward the end of the book Freeman's real position becomes fleetingly visible. Culture, Freeman believes, imposes conventional modes of interaction over "highly emotional and impulsive behavior that is animal-like in its ferocity" (ibid.:301). "Ferocity" and "animal-like" are the key words here. Freeman, sitting cross-legged for endless hours in the Samoan *fono* (chiefly assembly), observes the overlay: "incensed chiefs, having attained to pinnacles of elaborately patterned politeness, would suddenly lapse into violent aggression" (ibid.:300).

Thus Freeman's position on human aggression is ethological. Inasmuch as we are aggressive we are "animal-like." While he implies, however, that Samoan aggression is merely a local version of a universal and ethological phenomenon, Freeman most often traces Samoan aggression to child-rearing practices. I would like to disentangle Freeman's propositions and consider each separately: (1) that Mead underplayed Samoan aggression in *Coming of Age*, (2) that when humans are aggressive they are "animal-like," and (3) that Samoan aggression is tied to the strictures placed upon children.

Mead on Aggression in Samoan Society

It is true that we hear rather little about aggression in *Coming of Age*. There are quarrels and fallings-out among relatives, but Mead would lead us to believe that Samoa is a quintessentially pacific society; it is essential to her argument. Perchance in *Coming of Age* Mead was influenced by Freud's early work, in which aggression took second place to the libido and to Eros. Freud first assumed aggression to be self-protective in nature. Defense would be unnecessary in a society as permissive as Mead believed Samoa to be. Only in Freud's later work did the death instinct assume preponderant importance; only after a world war did Freud begin to believe in the constitutional inclination of human beings toward aggression (S. Freud [1961] 1962:111-145).

Undoubtedly, times have changed, and Samoan character with it, and any one construction of the past must be at best tenuous. Nonetheless as a resident of Samoa, as the wife of a Samoan, I find it difficult to believe aggression was as absent or as unimportant in the 1920s as Mead suggests. I would like to relate a 1975 story of jolly pugnaciousness in Manu'a.¹⁶ This pugnaciousness is so characteristically Samoan one is hardly tempted to put it down to Western influence, although it cannot be denied that, in this case, a Westerner ignited these Samoan fireworks.

A *palagi* (Caucasian) student of mine, Bill, married a Samoan woman shortly before 1975. The couple had met in the States but decided to visit Manu'a. There the wife's family lived and she had land they someday hoped to use for their home. Manu'a was still relatively isolated. The only way to get there was via a rather dilapidated freighter. It was an overnight excursion and passengers slept on the deck with the chickens and pigs.

Manu'a had no dock, and so the boat anchored off the reef. Transportation to the beach was provided by a canoe that passed through a rough and narrow *ava* (canyon in the reef). After this harrowing journey, as my student first set foot on shore, a pickup truck screeched to a halt before him, out of which jumped a big Samoan man, axe in hand, who knew enough English to say, "You wanna fight?" This seemingly ferocious individual turned out to be Bill's new brother-in-law, and his offer was only a jocular greeting. The feint, however, was soon to be followed by the real thing.

By noon of the next day a young woman was bruited it about the village that Bill had been her boyfriend in Hawaii. As the afternoon began to wane, out in front of his relative's *fale* this girl and Bill's bride's sister

stood facing each other, the former to physically assert her claim to Bill, the latter to physically defend her sister's honor.¹⁷ Pomade coated both girls' hair so that if, during the ensuing fight, one grabbed at the hair of the other she would not get a grip. The scuffle was soon joined by other villagers and later by those from the far side of the village, who came down screaming, "We'll get you this time!" Finally, in the evening, the *faifeau* (village minister) broke up the fray. One of the Samoan minister's focal roles is to reassert a sometimes very tentative peace (Shore 1982:6).

The missionary Stair, writing toward the conclusion of the nineteenth century, tells us these pugnacious tendencies are by no means new. "Wars amongst the Samoans were for a long time frequent and bloody; indeed, it was seldom that the islands were free from actual warfare or local quarrels, which were often decided by an appeal to arms. . . . Wars originated from various causes, sometimes the most trivial. Amongst others were bad language, irritating songs, jealousy, quarrels relating to women, murders, political rivalry, and, in addition to these, old feuds, which frequently needed the merest trifle to fan the flame" (Stair 1897:222-225). As in our own society, aggression has played all too prominent a part in Samoan social life.

Mead does acknowledge the place of aggression in her other works on Samoa, works in which she was not painting Samoa as a model of mental health. Like the early Freud, Mead links aggression with conservative attitudes toward sexuality. These attitudes Mead finds in Samoan hierarchical contexts. In *Coming of Age* Mead only hints this conservatism exists by telling the reader that the adolescent girl is extraordinarily careful to conceal her affairs from all elders ([1928] 1973:38, 51). But in Mead's other works on Samoa, when hierarchical relations are involved, attitudes toward sexuality are not represented as indulgent, nor is aggression depicted as inappreciable.

In *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*, for example, Mead says, "Any man committing adultery with the chief's wife was put to death by village edict," and she attributes intervillage hostilities principally to adultery, especially when the adulterer was younger or of lower status than the cuckold (1937:284, 302, 303). In an appendix to *Coming of Age* Mead discusses attitudes toward sexuality in premisionary times, reporting that in those days, if an ordinary girl was discovered to be unchaste, she was cruelly beaten and her head shaved ([1928] 1973, app. 3:153). Mead goes on to indicate that the higher one's place in the Samoan hierarchy, the more extreme this attitude toward sexuality became. Before the Navy prohibited the ceremony in

which the *taupou* (village ceremonial virgin) was ritually deflowered, a *taupou* who failed to bleed was stoned to death (ibid.).

Christianity, Mead says, softened the Samoans' treatment of their children. Nonetheless, if Samoan methods of punishment for sexual indiscretion were moderated by Christianity, it is unlikely Christianity liberalized Samoan sentiments about it.¹⁸ The fact that premarital sex was publicly disapproved of during premissionary times implies that it was also publicly disapproved of during missionary times. It should also be added that heads are still being shaved and girls beaten today, not only for actually having sex but for being caught in a situation that might be interpreted as leading in that direction. In *Coming of Age*, Mead does not give aggression the weight it bears in her other works on Samoa, nor could she, for it would not support her Freudian argument.

Aggression and Ethology

Even allowing that Mead failed to discover a society lacking significant aggression, it does not follow that she, therefore, neglected the animal side of human nature. Freeman's ethological perspective on aggression requires scrutiny, both in regard to how well it becomes an extremely vocal proponent of "interactionalism" and as to how just a characterization of human aggression it produces.

Like Lorenz in *On Aggression*, Freeman traces an "apposition" between the genetic patterning of animals and the cultural patterning of human beings (Freeman 1983a:300).¹⁹ In an earlier essay, "Aggression: Instinct or Symptom," Freeman clarifies the nature of this apposition.²⁰ He gives examples of Samoan behavior that he believes directly parallel aggression in animals (Freeman 1971:70). For example, Freeman describes Lagerspetz's experiments with mice in which, once the mice had begun to fight, they tended to persist in aggressive behavior (ibid.:69-70). Here, Freeman says, the physiological state itself appears to function like a drive. Likewise in Samoa, "when serious fighting was stopped by chiefs, the aroused opponents commonly displayed a marked tendency to re-instigate attacks upon one another" (ibid.:70).

If this parallel seems to imply that aggression is an instinct, Freeman is quick to assure the reader that aggression involves the interaction of "both internal and external variables" (ibid.:71). However, the interaction to which he refers is between biology and those social factors that are precultural. Thus Freeman tells us that dominance hierarchies among animal and humans limit aggression, while crowding and learn-

ing can stimulate it, but he bases these conclusions on various experiments carried out with rhesus monkeys and with laboratory mice (ibid.:69–71). Freeman mentions two experimental studies of human behavior. In both cases, however, they exemplify similar findings in work with animals (ibid.:68–69).

In the field of psychology this parallel with animal behavior has been overused for decades. What those who work with our animal brethren fail to recognize is that new abilities emerge at the human level.²¹ Human beings have language and construct symbol systems—such as cultures—and because of this fact our behavior does not necessarily resemble that of other species. Needless to say, we have something to learn from animal studies. However, it would seem that an interactionalist model should take human culture into account, and culture is not reducible to those social behaviors we share with our evolutionary predecessors.

Animals are, it is true, genetically programmed to respond when their vital interests are threatened. But this disposition is not toward violence per se. Fight, flight, or submission are equally likely to follow such a threat, depending upon the adaptiveness of each reaction in the environment (Fromm 1973:16–32).

Biological research does imply that some human aggression can be interpreted as an analogue to this animal reaction, but this is a distortive comparison and one that culture often turns back against biology. Humans, like animals, will rally when their vital interests are threatened, but to a great extent these interests are defined by society. For example, stratified Mediterranean societies have a concept of honor, although the definition of this concept varies. Men, women too, will fight if their honor is in jeopardy. But as Falstaff points out in *Henry IV*, honor is a cold bedfellow, especially when the bed one shares with it may well turn out to be a grave. One wonders: is this analogue or antinomy?

Furthermore, human aggression ranges far beyond the scope of the dubious parallel with nonhuman animals, for unlike animal instinct, human aggression is not merely reactive in nature, but often gratuitous and malignant. The source of this latter form of aggression may be cultural or, as Erich Fromm suggests, it may be existential (1973:218–433), but fortunately Freeman is wrong to trace it to the animal in us. In regard to aggression, as in so many other areas, humans appear to be an unnatural animal; or in the terminology of many traditional cultures, one might say we are, for better or for worse, not raw but cooked.

Mālosi: The Roots of Samoan Aggression

If there are problems with Freeman's indictment of Mead and with his position on aggression itself, he may not be altogether wrong in linking Samoan aggression with punishment in childhood. In Samoan social philosophy, childhood is a time of service. Gerber describes the demands of parents upon the child as heavy and exacting (1975:37-48). Mead says of the child, "So closely is the daily life bound up with . . . servitude and so numerous are the acknowledged relationships in the name of which service can be exacted, that for the children an hour's escape from surveillance is almost impossible" ([1928] 1973:41).

Good Samoan children are supposed to listen silently to the commands and instructions of all elders; in Samoan terms they should be *usita'i* (obedient). However, Samoans say that children are *fa'alogatā* (disobedient; literally, hard to listen). Today at least, as Freeman documents, when children talk back rather than listening, harsh punishment follows (1983a:205-210). No one denies that the corporal punishment of children is common in Samoa today. The moot point is whether it is an intrinsic part of the Fa'aSamoa (Samoan Way), or whether this form of punishment is merely due to the socioeconomic conditions that have arisen in recent years during the process of modernization.²² I will first consider the tie between the chastisement of children and uniquely modern circumstances, and then the place of discipline in the Fa'aSamoa itself.

Samoa Today

Many of the traditional checks and balances to which Mead attributed social harmony and individual sanity in Samoa have begun to decay. There are, furthermore, elements of the Samoan social cosmos Mead did not consider that also helped to maintain the social equilibrium she observed. In recent years, many of these subtler aspects of Fa'aSamoa have also been modified in a manner that tends to undermine mental health and happiness.

Musical Chairs, Samoan Style. The major obstacle to parental severity Mead observed was the children's ability to change their residence should their natal homes prove in any way inhospitable. Today, escape from one's nuclear family is no longer as simple as once it was. Aunts and uncles have come to be regarded in a different category than parents, although adoption is still common and often children will grow up with near relatives other than their parents. But now aunts and uncles

more often shut their doors to runaway children, no matter what the cause of their having left.

'*Āiga* enjoyed a parallel freedom in relation to the *nu'u* (village). Formerly, if a family was severely shamed by the behavior of one of its youngsters, it could escape the village's ire through a change of residence. Although the elaborate guest houses (*faletele*) through which an '*āiga* demonstrates status were expensive to construct, a simple *fale* could be built in a few days by a man and his close relatives. Land for new plantations could easily be cleared and one had a right to land wherever one had ancestral lines. The only real disadvantage the family suffered was that its hereditary avenue toward titles and thus power would probably be more distant in the new village. But if the family so chose, it could return to the former village in a few years and all would be forgotten.

Unfortunately, such blithe migrations have grown more complicated. Families who today borrow money from the bank to build their *palagi*-style houses are reluctant to abandon the village in which they build. The new *palagi* homes wall in families, which are becoming more nuclear. Maintaining the family image before a village that one hesitates to leave for economic reasons means that parents can ill afford serious social blunders. They are, therefore, more vigilant about their adolescents' behavior. The resulting tendency is to keep adolescents, especially girls, within the house and under parental eyes. Within the tightening net of a more limited and more nuclear family, direct confrontations between authority figures and children are now more likely.

Childcare. A decrease in the importance of the child nursemaid's role in the socialization process also insures added strife between parents and children in Samoa today. Now older siblings go off to school. Although in some cases the lack of child nursemaids means that the mother becomes a primary caretaker, childcare is not the traditional occupation of adult women in Samoa. Many of these women work. Due to the unavailability of sibling caretakers, the child is often left with its grandparents.

Samoa society is organized in an age-grade hierarchy (Mead [1928] 1973:12). Those who are lower in the hierarchy demonstrate their *fa'aaloalo* (fealty) to those above them through *tautua* (service).²³ Therefore, the most typical form of parental communication is the command (Gardner 1965:145, 146; Sutter 1980:36-41). However, in the life of the child, this severity is balanced by relations with grandparents. Grandparents and young children are clearly different in age. In rela-

tions between persons with sharply demarcated differences in status, the need to assert this distinction seems to fade. Consequently grandparents, rather than exerting their authority, enjoy spoiling the child. Traditionally this spoiling was intermittent, as was the association between grandparents and children. Today, when grandparents are often the primary caretakers, they continue to indulge their grandchildren. Sometimes an adult babysitter is hired instead; in American Samoa a Tongan woman, in Western Samoa an older and grandmotherly woman. The hireling's job is to serve. Being cared for by a servant inverts the normal status relation between adult and child and thus presents the child with a model for relationship that does not fit the hierarchical mold of Samoan social life. The resulting adolescent is not socialized according to parental expectation.²⁴

Choice. The moral uniformity that Mead noted in the Samoa of yesteryear no longer exists. Today there are a very large number of Christian religious sects represented in Samoa. Oriental fishermen who have made a home in Pago Pago have brought their religions as well, although the vast majority of Samoans are still Christian. Because of the influx of the modern world—including radio, movies, television, and videos—the vast array of potential choices that Mead describes as beleaguering American adolescents in the 1920s is familiar to the Samoan adolescent. However, especially in Western Samoa, the freedom to make these potentialities actual is certainly less than it is in the United States. But, if Samoa is a socially and economically more limited society than our own, these factors hardly mitigate adolescent intrapsychic conflict. On the contrary, such limitations may intensify it.

Modern Western Samoa recently suffered an epidemic of suicide, reaching a high point in 1981. In American Samoa suicide was less widespread. It has been argued that the difference in suicide rates between the two Samoas is due to the fact that American Samoans have a good deal more opportunity to make the various choices presented to them by the media than their Western Samoan cousins (see Bowles 1985:15–35; Macpherson and Macpherson 1985:36–73; Oliver 1985:74–87; Leacock 1987:184–185).

Contexts. If parental severity is balanced by the attitude of grandparents, a strict formality between parents and their children is offset by relations with peers. The Samoan social cosmos is divided into hierarchical contexts and peer contexts (Shore 1982:221–292). As parents are of higher social standing than their children, the parent-child relation-

ship is hierarchical. Hierarchical relations require deferential behavior in which the personal desires of the subject are politely cloaked. Consequently, within the confines of the parent-child relationship, sexuality and all the more personal impulses of the self are hidden. However, this circumspection is abandoned among peers. Here teasing and ribaldry are the rule.

Between 1966 and 1969 Richard Moyle recorded the sexual songs, dances, and poems that were once part of formalized joking between peers. For example, when the youths of one village paid a formal visit to the maidens of another, a kava ceremony was held and poems such as the following were recited:

Sulita 'ua 'e ita.

'Ua pa'ū lou ma'i masina.

'Ua ou tago atu,

Se'i a'e lamulamu.

'O a'u nei 'o Pili.

Le tagata 'ai mea nanamu.

Āfai e te fia fa'alogo

I le gāsēsē o le pona tolo,

Na'ona 'e fa'aloloa,

Pei 'oe funa e te 'ai suāmoa.

Sulita, you are angry.

Your clot of menstrual blood has fallen.

I reached out,

Snatched it up and chewed it.

I am Pili.

The one who eats strong-smelling things.

If you want to hear

The noise of the sugarcane node,

Just lie back, girl,

As though you were eating boiled chicken. (Moyle 1975:233)

Moyle explains the allusions in the song as follows. "The reference here is not so much to the node as to the base of the sugarcane stalk, a metaphorical expression for the erect penis. The noise is that of the sugarcane moving in the wind, a reference to the sounds involved in copulation . . . chickens are usually cooked on their backs, the legs spread" (ibid.).

Actually *fa'alogo* is the verb for "to feel," as well as for "to hear." *Gāsēsē* is a rustling noise, but also a light slapping caress, like that of the breeze on the skin. Moyle rightly suggests that the reference to chicken has to do with the position of the legs of boiled fowl, but the line also equates the pleasure of eating and of lovemaking.

Salacious songs and poems have largely fallen into disuse. Peer relations are far from straight-laced, but bawdy humor no longer appears to have such a firmly institutionalized place. In any case, when young girls are expected to stay constantly at home, peer relations cannot balance hierarchical restraints.

Today, when adolescents do escape the hierarchical context of the family and evoke some public comment, there is always the traditional solution. Severe lashing with a coconut frond is the traditional penalty for any child who calls down shame upon the *'āiga*. This form of sanction for shaming one's family was clearly in evidence in Mead's time. Mead describes it as the prescribed treatment for a girl who was found not to be virgin in the defloration ceremony that preceded her wedding. How easily an *'āiga* was shamed in the 1920s and, therefore, how easily beatings were precipitated is a matter for speculation.

Undoubtedly today the likelihood of young people's embarrassing their families is greater. When modern adolescent norms for behavior differ so severely from the traditional norms, parents can hardly avoid feeling shamed by their children, nor can children avoid the consequences. A deeply enraged adolescent girl will sometimes intentionally get pregnant, using her ability to bring shame upon her parents as revenge against them. Such behavior constitutes an effective weapon, but it is self-destructive. Suicide represents the same sort of stifled rebellion in Samoa. Neither is a happy analogue for the greater latitude adolescents found in peer relationships in former times.

Samoa Yesterday

This examination of current social conditions still leaves us at a loss as to the intrinsic place of physical censure in Samoan childhood. Eleanor Leacock tries to resolve this puzzle through her work in the London Missionary Society Archives (1987:193). She quotes missionaries who recount elements of Samoan social philosophy that, Leacock believes, once mitigated parental violence against their children. According to these missionaries, nineteenth-century Samoans thought that their children could not be coerced and were careful of their children's dignity.

Leacock cites one story in which a child refuses to accompany his par-

ents to a *pōula* (night dance). Instead of beating the child when he repeatedly refuses, they merely turn him over to the missionaries—lock, stock, and barrel (Leacock 1987:183). *Pōula* tended to be extremely bawdy (Williams [1832] 1984:247–248). The boy, by his refusals, had demonstrated Christian inclinations. The missionaries were probably delighted by the boy's reluctance to attend such “ungodly” entertainments. However, the parents cast the boy out, and even if this reaction did not entail violence, it hardly constitutes a mild punishment. Leacock's missionaries tell another story in which a boy's parents, after beating the child, fix him special food to help repair his injured dignity (1987:183).

These tales are worth considering because one finds similar ideas about children elsewhere in Polynesia. In Tahiti, for example, Levy found both the idea that the child has “an inviolable will of his own” and remnants of an earlier and possibly related idea that the child had more *mana* (spiritual force) than its parents (1973:423, 432). In Polynesian social philosophy *mana* and dignity are associated concepts.²⁵

The belief that children cannot be coerced seems to fit with Mead's assertion that adults indulged a child who was *musu* ([1928] 1973:68). *Musu* (to refuse) refers particularly to a stubborn noncompliance with an order given by someone with authority over the individual. My students tell me, however, that one cannot be *musu* with a *matai* (chief) or with one's parents. They mean that refusal is, at least today, not an acceptable response to those in authority and while it does occur, a *musu* attitude usually earns the recalcitrant individual a proper beating. In fact the whole process of socialization in Samoa is directed toward rooting out the child's willfulness (*loto*). It must be added that Samoans are the first to admit that the *loto* is *ma'a'a* (hard to uproot) (Mageo 1986).

There is a strong connection between punishment and dignity or, more precisely, between punishment and status. To be punished in Samoa is to have one's lack of status firmly asserted. To be served, and particularly to be served food, is a validation of status, so the dynamics of Leacock's second tale are credible as well. On the other hand, Freeman points out that the missionary Stair noted both permissive and harsh behavior on the part of Samoan parents. Stair says that sometimes children were “indulged in every wish” and at other times they were “severely beaten for the most trivial offence” (quoted in Freeman 1983a:205).

It is in fact likely that both Leacock's sources and Stair are correct. The apparent contradiction between them, however, can be resolved

only through a deeper understanding of Samoan social philosophy, specifically of the feelings predicated between parents and children.

Alofa and the Parent-Child Relationship

Samoans believe that the primary feeling of the parent toward the child is *alofa* (love). Therefore, in order to understand this relationship we must investigate the meaning of this Samoan word and of related Samoan words.²⁶

When expressing *alofa* the phrase "*Tālofae ia 'oe*" is most commonly used. *Tālofae*, however, is said in sympathy for the problems of another, rather than as a term of affection. *Tālofae* is a variation on the word *tālofa*, what is typically said in greeting. The word *alofa* can also be used. For example, instead of "*Tālofa*," an individual might say "*Si o'u alofa*" ("Regards!"). Both of these forms of greeting mean more than welcome. All *alofa* words indicate a willingness to give aid (*tautua*, commonly translated as service).²⁷

For example, the word for true love is *alofaifutu*. *Futu* is the name of a difficult boat channel in Taga, Savai'i. Safe entrance through this passage requires the aid of the local people.²⁸ *Fealofani* means mutual love and respect, which is expressed typically by a willingness to share unstintingly and to serve the other. The first description a Samoan ever gave me of *fealofani* is as follows. Suppose there were two sisters. Each sister had a big job to do, like weeding one section of a plantation. Both had been allotted the same amount of work, but one finished sooner. If the faster sister was *fealofani* to the slower sister, she would help her finish her work.

Similarly, individuals who have an *alofa* disposition (*lotoalofa*) share with and defer to anyone who comes to them. If you visit such individuals they serve you food. They make a shelter for you. And they would be grieved to go against any of your wishes.

Parent-Child. Although parents feel much *alofa* for their children, they try never to show it and never, ever, to speak of it. Should they do either, they fear they would spoil their children. In light of the meaning of the word *alofa*, it becomes clear why. Indeed parents may be brimming over with *alofa* and may, in consequence, want to cook for the children and to defer to them, but their relative place in the status hierarchy legislates against it.

The preparation of food is a primary Samoan sign for fealty and submission. For example, one's obligations to the *matai* are called *tautua*.

Tautua actually means service, but the manner in which this *tautua* is most commonly given is by bringing the *matai* food for his Sunday lunch. Children, likewise, cook for their parents. So definitive of the parent-child relationship is this service that the parents Gerber interviewed in her 1972-1973 fieldwork in Samoa could not imagine that American parents cooked for their children (1975:39). These Samoan parents were also told that American children, unlike their Samoan counterparts, leave home when they became adults. "But who cooks for them?" was the parents' astonished comment, meaning who cooks for the forsaken parents (*ibid.*).

Service is not expected of babies. Neither can they be expected to appreciate their low degree, so they are consistently indulged. However, with the child it is a different matter. Children need to practice fealty to parents and must learn, through experience in their immediate family, to defer to others in authority in their *'āiga* and in their *nu'u*.

If parents do not insist upon the deference due them, but show their *alofa* instead, children become confused about cultural signs. By displaying their *alofa*, the parents would be treating the children as if they were of a higher status than the parents. As a result, children might come to assess themselves wrongly, that is, as of a loftier status than they actually hold.

Spoiling Samoan Style. The most serious social sin a youngster can commit is to be *tautalaitiiti*. Many Samoans are bilingual speakers of English and Samoan. Most translate *tautalaitiiti* as cheeky. The actual term is applied only to children and teenagers. Cheeky behavior implies presuming above one's station. Since children are utterly without status and teenagers relatively so, almost any strongly assertive behavior on their part is cheeky. Samoans will also call a child who is often *tautalaitiiti* spoiled.

"Spoiling" Samoan style can be a very serious social problem. Samoan strictures have to do with obedience to authority. Appropriate deference is tantamount to moral conduct. Normally, therefore, the child's guideline for behavior is simply to obey parents and other elders in the *'āiga*. If too much *alofa* has led a child to believe that he or she is of a higher status than elders (because that child has been treated as such), then the guideline of obedience appears not to apply.

Standards of conduct do not apply equally to all in Samoa. High-status people have a great deal of freedom of action. It is considered impolite for anyone lower in the hierarchy to question them or any of their actions. The assumption is that, as they have been through the ranks,

they are fully socialized and, therefore, can be trusted to act in the interests of their group. Should children come to consider themselves high-status individuals, they might draw the conclusion that they also can do whatever they like.

Just because parents are afraid to spoil their children, this does not mean that they never show their *alofa*. In the old days occasionally parents would feed a child until he or she lay down sick, saying, "Now you see how much *alofa* we have for you." When a child is hurt parents often become very emotional. Sick children are treated much as babies are. At the local hospital the ailing offspring will be carried about in a father's or a mother's arms. Parents will sleep beside a convalescent child and cook for them. But such practices, if too frequent, would have a corrupting influence.

This is why Samoans believe that, if one has *alofa* for one's children (in the sense of sincerely wanting to aid them), it is necessary to hide the desire to serve and defer to them. Instead one teaches children proper social conduct by giving them much practice in service and in following instructions without question, and by whipping (*fue*) them when they fail to obey.²⁹

Punishment functions as a reassertion of status, which has been challenged by the child's malfeasance. Freeman describes the characteristic feature of parental beatings in Samoa. The child demonstrates submission by sitting down before the parent, crossing the legs, and silently enduring—without tears—the treatment doled out by the parent (Freeman 1983a:206–207).

The Tei Relationship. The Samoan child gets practice deferring not only to parents but also to older siblings. Like parents, older siblings have much *alofa* for their little charges. Mead speaks of the older child's attitude toward the younger as "maternal enthusiasm" ([1928] 1973: 44). Parents frequently admonish children to "*Tausi lelei si ou tei!*" ("Take good care of your *tei!*") and the *tei* relationship is the fondest bond that exists in the culture.

This attitude of tenderness toward a younger sibling remains in adulthood. When my husband's sister gave birth to her first child, my husband was in his early teens. This older sister had been his caretaker when he was little. He moved in with his sister in order to take care of her baby girl. Today he still dreams of rescuing small girls from peril. He flirts with female babies and compares their good looks. He keeps a baby picture of me on his desk.

Samoans will go great lengths to foster, sponsor, and protect younger members of their *‘āiga*. Emotionally speaking it is the bond, or in the language of modern physicists, the charm, that binds Samoan society together. Jobs and advancement will go, when possible, to the person in authority's *tei*. This system of hiring and promotion is called *fa'a'āiga* (the way of the family).³⁰ Today it meets with social disapproval. Nonetheless most Samoans admit that it is the manner in which the Samoan social system functions.

Older relatives not only sponsor, but censure the *tei* as well. In these matters parents do not intervene, nor do they try to assess the fairness of the older child's treatment of the *tei*. To do so would be to undermine the older child's authority, and with it the whole Samoan system of childcare. Levy gives an example of such a parental stance in his study of Tahiti. I include the story here because the *tei* system of child-care-taking is trans-Polynesian (Ritchie and Ritchie 1979; Levy 1969:4-33).

Levy lived with a Tahitian family on the island of Huahine. One day, the younger daughter of his hostess scurried into the house chased by her older sister. The younger girl ran tearfully into the arms of her mother. The older girl had a switch and when she caught up with her sister, enfolded in their mother's arms, proceeded to beat her junior about the legs with the switch (Levy 1973:435). Although the mother held and comforted the younger girl, she did not interfere with the beating. If she had articulated her attitude, the mother might have said something like this, "*Tālofae*, too bad, I know how you feel and sympathize, but we all must accept the authority of those above us in the hierarchy."

Intent and Attitude. In regard to punishment, the gravity or triviality of the offense is not as significant to Samoans as the attitude an action conveys. A *tautalaitiiti* attitude is always reprehensible, no matter how trivial the action through which it is communicated. Attitude plays the same role in the assessment of culpability in Samoa as motive does in our own culture. For us a person's motive is more important than the deed itself, be it grave or trivial. To Samoans it is the doer's attitude that is primal.

These divergent orientations as to what is reprehensible stem from the difference between Western and Samoan identity. In the West identity is based upon the ego. The ego is the idea of oneself as a unique person, separate from others (S. Freud [1961] 1962:66-67), and is built from the inner world of the subject. In Samoa identity is based upon the persona. The persona is a self-image (Jung 1966:158) and is derived

from social relations. Because our identities are based on the ego, subjective inner events, like motive, are viewed as primary. For Samoans, social events, such as attitudes, are all important.

Hierarchy, Dominance, and Aggression

Freeman argues that the physical punishment that the Samoan system metes out to children generates aggression in the adult. So far so good. There is, after all, a great deal of psychological evidence that physical punishment in childhood creates more aggressive adults (Aronson [1972] 1984:215–221). However, Freeman would also lead us to believe that Samoan aggression stems not just from these punishments in themselves, but also from their arbitrary character. Much as his missionary predecessor Stair, Freeman sees Samoan chastenings as often unfair and capricious (1983a:208–209).³¹

Although parents and other relatives can be unfair in Samoa, just as anywhere else, and although the precipitating factors for correcting a child are different in Samoa than in Western society, these censures are not at all arbitrary in Samoan terms. Nonetheless, the Samoan hierarchical system of child rearing may contribute, as Freeman suspects, to aggressiveness in adulthood.

In his 1971 essay on aggression, Freeman notes that dominance hierarchies restrict the expression of aggressive impulses. In *Margaret Mead and Samoa*, however, he implies that this restriction ultimately results in a building up of aggressive impulses that express themselves in uncontrolled outbursts of rage, states of possession, and so on (Freeman 1983a:216–225).³² In my view hierarchy tends to increase aggression because requiring submission from children stimulates a contrary desire to dominate. In an age-grade system children have numerous supervisors. In Samoa these supervisors enforce their right to tell children what to do through punishment. Because the assertion of status in Samoa is equated with the ability to inflict physical punishment, punishing another may come to be regarded, in later life, as an assertion of status.

John Parton, former assistant district attorney of American Samoa, was wont to comment on the respect he was shown by the prison inmates he had defeated in the courtroom. Instead of hating him for being involved in their demise, these inmates seemed to be primarily impressed with him. By putting them in jail, and thereby punishing them, Parton had validated his high status.

To us these inmates seem to lack a normal aggressive response, but by not directing their anger toward Parton they were conforming to the

pattern of relationships that is established in Samoan childhood. Because it is those individuals with superior status who punish the child, aggressive feelings are originally generated in hierarchical relations. However, in Samoan social philosophy no one lower in the hierarchy has the right to express such sentiments to anyone above them. Before one's betters, only compliance is called for, and anything short of compliance is met with a harsh and physical chastening.

The aggressive feelings that stem from the child's treatment in hierarchical relations have two potential outlets. The only immediate outlet for the child's feelings is in peer relations, an outlet that remains important in later life.³³ Here competitive and jocular attempts to dominate are socially acceptable. As the child develops and as the youth reaches adulthood, a second outlet for the desire to dominate is secured. Individuals gain positions of authority and require deference from underlings. I will consider these outlets consecutively.

Peers, Punishment, and Dominance. In Samoa peer interaction normally consists of teasing banter and friendly rivalry. Childhood teasing gives voice both to the aggression silenced in hierarchical relations and to the desire to dominate fostered by childhood subservience. Children and young people will brag about their 'āiga. Conversely when children tease others, they often do so by calling the name of the other children's parents. The teaser means to take the parents' name, and in a larger sense the family name, in vain. Thus they rile their friends. Sometimes children will reveal or fabricate stories about an undignified peccadillo in which one of the other children's parents was involved prior to marriage. When children and youths tease one another about their respective families with too much joie de guerre, teasing can become brawling; this brawling is an attempt to put down the other child and his or her 'āiga.

The aggression that is expressed in peer relations is—at least within the context of the 'āiga—marginally acceptable, because in peer relations individuals function as representatives for their groups. Therefore, peer fights sometimes generate small wars between families. Even if the topic of gibes is not the other youth's family, when peers get the better of a family member, the 'āiga frequently behaves as if it has been insulted. For example, my father-in-law's favorite daughter, Pili, was once beaten by the girls of another 'āiga. The genesis of the fight was unclear, but undoubtedly the girls had felt insulted by Pili and subsequently attacked her. When Pili returned home from this beating my father-in-law assembled his eight other children. He divided them into a female

battalion and a male battalion and marched them over to the 'āiga of the delinquent girls, demanding that the other family send its children out to fight.

Rivalry among peers is a traditional entertainment in Samoan society, as in our own. In traditional times war games were put on between villages (Stair 1897:236–238). Today, cricket is the national pastime and has replaced these games. A village will usually sponsor both a male team and a female team. Competition is between villages. As a team member, the individual represents the *nu'u*, rather than the family.

Because Samoans have a strong desire to dominate, due to enforced submissiveness in childhood, they are not always the best losers. Losing a game can and does awaken a desire to assert dominance by "punishing" the other team. The losing team at a cricket match sometimes attacks the winning team. As teasing between friends can become war between families, games between teams can become riots between villages. One of my informants described a car being stoned as it drove through a village, merely because its passengers had rooted a little too hard for the cricket team of an opposing village.

Hierarchical Relations and Aggression: Overstepping the Proper Bounds. In Samoan social philosophy, parents and others in authority justly reassert their dominant status through punishment. This punishment is intended as well-meant instruction for the callow and the forgetful in the rigors of the Samoan social hierarchy. However, as we have seen, a personal desire to dominate, and specifically to dominate by punishing another, may result from having to submit to others with such consistency in childhood. Normally this need to dominate fuels the Samoan hierarchical system in a highly functional manner, resulting in responsible supervision. However, Samoans also acknowledge that sometimes the personal need of the individual in authority to dominate, and therefore to punish, may get out of hand. When those below one are adequately submissive, or when they have legitimate complaints, then punishment is merely an arrogant assertion of status. Probably the most typical situation in which this overstepping takes place is when people drink to excess.

For example, although my father-in-law, Toa, was on the whole a mild-mannered man, when he drank his need to assert dominance surfaced. In general all his drinking would inspire was song. He would roam about smiling and shouting. Shouting is significant in such an episode, as it represents a reversal of the command that children be silent.

To shout is symbolically connected to presuming above one's accorded status. When individuals speak loudly, Samoans say they are *fialeolagona*. *Fialeolagona* literally means to want to make your voice heard, but actually refers to someone who is presuming above his or her proper status. At any rate, Toa would shout, "I am Toa of Samoa." The word *toa* means a strong warrior, capable of beating another village in war.³⁴

My mother-in-law, Tina, hated his drinking. However, in the Samoan hierarchy wives are inferior to husbands in rank. Like children, they are supposed to serve their husbands with demure obedience. The high chief's wife is called *faletua*, which means back of the house. The back of the house is where those serving high-status persons remain. The talking chief's wife is called *tausi*, meaning to take care, specifically to take care of the talking chief.

Tina, as a wife, had no right to verbally complain about Toa's intemperance. But Tina's only sibling was a younger brother and so she had been the authority in her household. Tina saw herself more as a titled lady than as a wife. Therefore, when Toa was inebriated, Tina compromised. It would, after all, have been undignified to *komumu* (grumble). Instead she prepared for him only scanty and uninteresting meals. Samoans have been known to cry at such a lack of *alofa*.

Contemplating one of these unappetizing dinners, Toa picked up a *taro* and hurled it at Tina, determined to put her in her place. Like some legendary baseball player, Tina caught it in mid-air and hurled it back, with considerably greater force and accuracy. Having been duly punished, Toa grew much less prone to assert his authority.

Punishment and Titles. My reader may protest at this point that dominance and submission are universal themes.³⁵ However, it is possible that, when child-rearing practices emphasize submission, these themes take a particularly prominent place in adult character. There is much support for this hypothesis in the voluminous ethnographic literature on Samoa.

Many ethnographers have commented upon the fact that the point of adult life in Samoa is to secure a title and that Samoans are preoccupied with politics and attaining political positions. Mead speaks of the importance of titles in Samoan psychology. She says that "Samoans find rank a never-failing source of interest" (Mead [1928] 1973:28). The boy's life she sees as directed toward attaining a title.³⁶ "A man rarely attains his first title before he is thirty, often not before he is forty. All the years between his entrance into the *Aumaga* and his entrance into

the *Fono* are years of striving. He cannot acquire a reputation and then rest upon it or another claimant to the same title will take advantage of his indolence and pass him in the race. . . . Only the lazy, the shiftless, the ambitionless fail to respond to this competition" (ibid.:106).³⁷ Holmes says, "Rank and prestige constitute the focal point of Samoan culture, to which all other aspects of life are secondary in importance" (1987:122).

Titles, like political positions, ensure that the holder will be listened to and that others will hear and obey. In short it insures a position of dominance. In Samoa the *tulāfale* (talking chief) is the archetype both of the successful politician and of the successful man, the latter being equated with the former. The Samoan preoccupation with titles indicates a need to hold a position of dominance. It, therefore, points to demands for frequent and dramatic submission in childhood, demands probably enforced through prevalent punishment.

This link, between punishment and the desire to hold titles, is exemplified by my Samoan father-in-law. In some respects Toa was atypical in the manner in which he raised his children. He almost never beat them. He was similarly anomalous in his feeling about titles. His *ʻaiga* holds a very old and honored title in American Samoa. They offered it to him and he declined, preferring the pleasures of private life to those of public office.

Interestingly, Mead also says that in the 1920s most men did not aspire to titles until they began to grey, and positively avoided them prior to this time ([1928] 1973:20–21). Aside from my eccentric father-in-law, Samoans today do not avoid titles. Those who are ambitious and capable secure them as early as possible.

The political dimension of titles is also clear in Samoa today. In Western Samoa only titled individuals can vote. In American Samoa the legislature consists of a house of lords and a house of commons. The upper house is composed of titled men, not elected candidates. In fact, although not in law, a high title is a prerequisite for holding any significant political position. A modern Samoan organizational theorist, Tusi Avengalio, has said that, without a title, an individual is likely to be ineffectual in Samoan organizations.

If there indeed is a link between the forced submission of the child and an appetite for titles, then Mead's observation would lend credence to the idea that punishment was less ubiquitous in the Samoa of the 1920s than it is in the Samoa that spawned the present generation. Perhaps *musu* was tolerated more gently then than now. Unfortunately the lack of appetite for titles that Mead reports is contradicted by the nine

stories told in *Coming of Age* about specific young men. The major pre-occupation of each man is his pathway toward a title (ibid.:30-32).

Almost seventy years ago, Mead meant to hand Samoa, or what it represented to her, over to Americans as a remedy for adolescent doldrums and, perhaps in a larger sense, as a palliative for human aggression. Unfortunately, there is no dearth of aggression in Samoa, nor have Samoans found the key to the riddle of how to make the exigencies of social life suit the personal desires of the subject. We are shaped by our societies, but somehow we are never quite the right shape to fit the mold without scouring and chafing. And the chafing leaves its mark upon our characters.

NOTES

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1. For confirmation on the definition of these words see Milner 1966 and Pratt [1862] 1977.

2. Mead's seminal work, and that of friends and colleagues like Sapir and Benedict, represent the genesis of culture and personality studies in anthropology (Mead 1972:214-216).

3. The most outstanding example of the pivotal importance of Freudian thought for anthropologists in the 1920s is, of course, Bronislaw Malinowski's *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (1927).

4. Freeman mentions Ogburn's importance in this regard, stating that Mead conducted her research in Samoa inspired by Ogburn's "doctrines." However, Freeman never mentions Ogburn's psychological leaning, only his methodological ones (Freeman 1983a:58, 301). In private correspondence with me (October 3, 1987), Freeman has disputed Ogburn's belief in psychoanalysis because Ogburn counseled, "Never look for a psychological explanation unless every effort to find a cultural one has been exhausted" (reference not supplied by Freeman). Freeman construes this sentence to mean that Ogburn "introduced his students to psychological theories only to reject them. . . ." This statement is in marked contrast to Mead's own comments that Ogburn treated Freudian theory with respect. The idea that one should look to culture before employing universalistic psychological theories to explain behavior implies an appropriate ethnographic sequence, not a rejection of psychological perspectives on behavior. Mead, who was a psychology major and "committed to psychology" both before and after she took Ogburn's class, would hardly have been sympathetic to such a rejection.

5. Mead characterizes the thought of these social theorists as follows: "The physical changes which are going on in the bodies of young boys and girls have their definite psychological accompaniments. . . . As your daughter's body changes from the body of a child to the body of a woman, so inevitably will her spirit change, and that stormily" (Mead [1928] 1973:ix).

6. When Mead went to Samoa in 1925 she had not, of course, read Erikson, but in some measure she anticipates him in her description of this phase.

7. Mead also took issue with some of Freud's minor ideas. For example, she rejected the nineteenth-century notion, to which Freud subscribed, that "primitives" were animistic and prelogical (Mead 1972:166).

8. In this section I often use Mead's "Cultural Contexts of Puberty and Adolescence" (1959) to refer to her data in *Coming of Age*, because in this lecture Mead summarizes her Samoan findings. In his letter of October 3, 1987, Freeman objects to my extensive use of this paper as evidence of Mead's Freudian leanings because it was written late in her life. I also use her autobiography and the arguments that she actually offers us in *Coming of Age* itself. In any case, there is no reason to believe that she misremembers her early interest in Freudian theory or lies about it.

9. For a comment upon the questionable test that Freeman employs to contest this assertion see Holmes 1983:933. Freeman presents a counterargument in 1984b:400-405.

10. Actually the child was cared for by an older relative of its own generation, usually female. In the Samoan generational kinship system, cousins are referred to by the same words as brothers and sisters. Thus, in Samoan terms, all female relatives of one's own generation are "sisters." As I note later in this paper, occasionally, when no "sister" is available, the boy shoulders this responsibility instead.

This brother/sister category is not even entirely confined to one's own generation. Because Samoan families are so large, children span many years. In consequence, individuals who are, in terms of Western kinship calculation, uncles and aunts will sometimes be of the same age as, or even younger than, their nieces and nephews. Here the Samoan respect for age takes precedence over kinship calculation. It would be impolite to call an older relative son or daughter, so in such cases the individuals involved will merely regard one another as cousins in our terms, or as sisters and brothers in Samoan terms.

11. In Samoan a *tei* is a younger relative of one's own generation. I use the pronoun "he" for the younger child in this section for the sake of clarity and brevity.

12. For a discussion of her anticipation of these ideas see Mead 1959.

13. In the letter mentioned above, Freeman has contested my depiction of Mead as taken up with Freudian issues because of several indications that Boas was anti-Freudian. However, even if Boas objected to many Freudian concepts, this does not mean that Mead's ideas were a replica of his. All Freeman manages to provide as to Mead's actual thoughts on the subject is a letter of Mead's (August 30, 1924) in which she refers to "the unpleasant devices of the Electra and Oedipus notions." This is flimsy evidence for the belief that Mead was anti-Freudian herself, especially in light of all her later remarks on the subject.

Freeman also refers to a private conversation with Mead on November 10, 1964, in which Mead said she had no real or reliable knowledge of psychoanalysis when she arrived in Samoa. What Mead may have meant by this remark is impossible to decipher out of context, but clearly she did not mean that she had failed to study Freud. By her own pub-

lished report, she studied Freud's work in Ogburn's class. Further she tells us that she had "read widely in the psychoanalytic literature of the day." Are we then to assume this published statement is fallacious? Mead may not have been familiar with the fine points of analytic technique, but her familiarity with the larger Freudian concepts, such as the Oedipus complex and its effects on socialization, is something that she refers to in correspondence during the twenties, as Freeman himself points out.

In any case, my argument is as follows: (1) Mead was taken up with Freudian ideas in *Coming of Age* and (2) she argued with many of Freud's pivotal concepts, for example, the necessity of an Oedipus crisis. However, with the more fundamental Freudian perspective, that mental illness and psychological suffering in general had an etiology based in the social intolerance of biological impulses, and specifically sexual impulses, Mead wholeheartedly agreed. Nothing that Freeman has produced shows this is not the case.

14. For the inaccuracy of this portrait of Boas see Weiner 1983:911-912; Marcus 1983; and also McDowell 1984:99-139. See also Freeman 1984a:152-158 and 1983b:135-142.

15. Mead is far too synthetic in her general intellectual approach to reject behaviorism as a whole. Some behaviorist insights she saw as valid. For example, Mead compares anthropologists' discovery that human "nature" varies in relation to variant child-rearing practices to that of the behaviorists (Mead [1928] 1973:3). However, the theoretical thrust of her own work lies elsewhere.

16. Mead did her research on Ta'u, one of the three islands in the Manu'an group. These islands are located in the territory of American Samoa.

17. In *The Social Organization of Manu'a*, Mead places much greater weight on Samoan sensitivity to insult (1969:226) than she does in *Coming of Age*.

18. The version of Christianity first imported to Ta'u was of the hellfire-and-brimstone London Missionary Society version. Although it must be added that the first Christian teachers representing this group were from Rarotonga, not from Europe, which may have softened the LMS doctrines somewhat. See Weiner 1983.

19. In *Margaret Mead and Samoa* Freeman refers to Lorenz only once (Freeman 1983a:201); the reference is to the hereditary nature of behavior. The comparison between Freeman and Lorenz is my own. Freeman sees Lorenz as a biological determinist and himself as an interactionalist (Freeman 1971).

20. In private correspondence Freeman has referred me to this 1971 essay as a particularly clear statement of his position on aggression.

21. See further Ehrlich 1974.

22. See Leacock 1987:172-181 and Holmes 1987:89-102 for additional discussion of the social change that has taken place since 1925.

23. *Fa'aaloalo* is usually translated as respect, but it does not indicate a personal admiration for another individual. Rather it indicates a willingness to acknowledge the sovereignty of another through humble service. Therefore, I prefer the word fealty as a translation.

24. Most Samoan parents today grew up in a social universe that was little altered from that of earlier generations. Many of their parents do not speak English. Undoubtedly in some sense the older generation represents the society's "traditional" way of life and the

younger generation "modern" incursions. However, socialization has changed to such an extent over the past twenty years in Samoa that this distinction between the generations amounts to a strange if fascinating historical juxtaposition. Often the two generations have different personality structures. They speak more or less different languages, both literally, in the sense that the younger generation relies considerably more on English than their parents, and metaphorically, in the sense that their worldviews are far from overlapping.

25. See Mageo 1986.

26. In the October 3, 1987, letter mentioned above, Freeman objects to my analysis of Samoan culture through the examination of language. He states that such analysis is "not a scientifically sound approach, even though it be an approach much in vogue among some cultural anthropologists." Freeman prefers to study directly observed behavior. In face of this anti-linguistic approach, it is hard to credit Freeman with a serious consideration of culture, or with interactionalism. On what basis Freeman dismisses a major school of thought in modern anthropology he did not explain.

27. See Gerber (1975:3, 190-195; 1985:131, 145-146, 149-150) for additional descriptions of the significance of the word *alofa*. Here Gerber discusses the relation between *alofa* and social obligation.

28. See Pratt [1862] 1977:28.

29. Gerber, in her study of Samoan emotions, documents that a primary sign for parental love is beating (1975:6).

30. In his fascinating article Cluny Macpherson describes how the *fa'a'āiga* system functions in modern Western Samoa (1985:258-261).

31. See also Gerber 1985:122 on rage in relation to the hierarchical order of Samoan society.

32. The hydraulic theory of aggression is Freudian. For a summary and critique of this view, see Aronson [1972] 1984:192-203.

33. Shore associates aggression specifically with peer relations (1982:198-210).

34. *Toa* is a very ancient word. Originally the *toa* was the strong arm of the high chief. See Kirch 1984:64.

35. Gregory Bateson argues that dominance/submission are universal themes, but that the social roles affiliated with each varies between cultures (1975:97-106).

36. See Shore 1982, chapters 4 and 6.

37. The *'aumāga* is the village's association of young, untitled men. The *fono* is a chiefly assembly.

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SOME ORIGINS AND MIGRATIONS OF IDEAS
LEADING TO THE ARYAN POLYNESIAN
THEORIES OF ABRAHAM FORNANDER
AND EDWARD TREGAR

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At the two extremes of the Polynesian triangle, Abraham Fornander in Hawaii and Edward Tregear in New Zealand independently and simultaneously concluded that Polynesians shared an Aryan ancestry with Europeans. Fornander outlined this proposition in volume one of his *Account of the Polynesian Race*, which appeared in 1878, but it was volume three, subtitled a "Comparative Vocabulary of the Polynesian and Indo-European languages," published in 1885 that contained his most substantive evidence. Tregear's *Aryan Maori* was also published in 1885.¹ Their general thesis was that about four thousand years ago an Aryan people whose homeland was on the high plains east of the Caspian and north of the Himalayas moved off in two great migrations. One went westward into Europe and provided the populations that eventually spoke the Greek, Latin, Celtic, Slavonic, Teutonic, and Romance languages. The other swept southward over Persia and India, dividing into two with one eventually speaking Zend, the other Sanskrit. It was the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans who became the ruling peoples of India. Meanwhile some Aryans continued moving through India, into the Southeast Asian archipelago, and onward to the most

far-flung islands of the Pacific. For Fornander the Polynesians were "a chip of the same block from which the Hindu, the Iranian, and the Indo-European families were fashioned."² Tregear expressed it: "The ordinary European who counts in his ranks the Bengalee, the Savoyard, and the Portuguese as Aryans, need not blush to own his brotherhood with the beauties of Hawaii or the heroes of Orakau."³ Both authors found in Maori and Hawaiian language, mythology, and customs so many remnants or survivals of an ancient Aryan heritage that they believed that an investigation of them could provide clues as to the very formation of Aryan culture itself. Fornander explained:

There must have been a time when the Celt, the Slav, the Goth, the Latin, the Greek, the Persian and the Hindu—neither of whom can now understand the other—must have spoken a common language. . . . Modern philological science, by taking Sanskrit as a standard, has discovered their kindred to each other, but has as yet only partially reproduced that ancient form of speech, of which the Sanskrit and its contemporary sister dialects were the comparatively modern developments. In my humble opinion a critical examination of the Polynesian language will throw a very considerable amount of light on a vast number of those roots.⁴

Tregear was of the opinion that "these uncivilized brothers of ours [the Polynesians] have kept embalmed in their simple speech a knowledge of the habits and history of our ancestors, that, in the Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic tongues, have been hidden under the dense aftergrowth of literary opulence."⁵ A number of reviewers greeted such propositions with scorn and ridicule, claiming that Fornander and Tregear had misused the findings of comparative linguistic scholarship or misunderstood Polynesian language and culture.⁶ Yet Fornander and Tregear helped to establish both a popular and scholarly orthodoxy about the Caucasian or Aryan origins of Polynesians that survived largely intact until the 1930s and beyond.

It is not my intention here to examine their particular works, nor to discuss the psychological or other reasons why, of all Pacific writers, Tregear and Fornander most enthusiastically embraced Aryan theory. Rather I will outline some of the intellectual forerunners of their general conclusions to illustrate that while much of their information on Polynesian history and culture was novel, not to say highly imaginative, their basic premise as to the Aryan origins of Polynesian people was any-

thing but original. Such an idea in fact had a lengthy tradition, especially in the field of comparative linguistics.

It is now well accepted that, to quote Professor M. P. K. Sorrenson, "European theorists read into Maori [and Polynesian] origins and culture what they wanted and expected to find, on the basis of theories derived from their own cultural and philosophical traditions."⁷ In very general terms scholars searching for the original Polynesian "homeland" in pre-Darwinian days tended to find a Semitic one. The next generation of scholars, influenced by evolutionary doctrines and the new comparative "sciences," created an intellectual context in which the supposedly more advanced "natives" could be attributed Aryan origins. But seeing such a clear-cut ideological turning point at about mid-century obscures a hundred years of linguistic research that led, perhaps almost inevitably, to Fornander's and Tregear's conclusions.

Alongside the many early nineteenth-century references to the Polynesians' Semitic origins can be found discrete observations by visitors to the Pacific islands as to possible Hindu influences. But the more substantive argument for such influences originated with linguistic research that initially had nothing to do with the Pacific but instead with investigations into the origins of modern European languages.

British rule in India brought Sanskrit to the attention of European philologists. The discovery of links between Sanskrit and European languages, at first specifically Greek and Latin, and more tenuously "Gothic," "Celtic," and "Persian," was announced by Sir William Jones (the founder of the Asiatic Society) in 1786. Jones's belief that Sanskrit was "more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either"⁸ stimulated an Orientalist tradition that regarded Indian thought and literature as perhaps the finest in the world. Jones's linguistic discovery was quickly elaborated upon by a succession of scholars over the first half of the nineteenth century, many of them Germans such as the von Schlegel brothers, Franz Bopp, Rasmus Rask, Jacob Grimm, A. F. Pott, and A. Schleicher. Most of them spent some time in Britain studying Sanskrit and other Indian documents at East India House and interviewing members of the Indian civil service. Their work gradually unraveled the complex relationships that existed among languages belonging to what became known as the Indo-European family, which included Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, as well as Celtic, Slavonic, Teutonic, Baltic, and Romance languages. Piece by piece they illustrated the history of these relationships through the reconstruction of earlier forms of these languages and drew up precise "laws" to trace and account for phonetic changes over time—Grass-

man's Law, Grimm's Law, Verner's Law. The German linguistic tradition remained very strong throughout the century. Other scholars trained in Germany pursued the science of language elsewhere, such as Max Müller in England and William Dwight Whitney in America. The techniques of comparative linguistic science that were developed during the study of the Indo-European language family amounted to one of the more impressive intellectual achievements of the nineteenth century and became the basis for the modern comparative study of language. Yet certain interpretations of many of these nineteenth-century linguists reflected various beliefs and values that have long since lost their currency, in particular the assumed centrality of Sanskrit and things Indian, the assumption (first enunciated by Friedrich von Schlegel) that language could be equated with race, and the concept of an Aryan brotherhood.⁹

The classification of languages into families was pursued vigorously for other parts of the world, including the Pacific islands. European explorers in the latter half of the eighteenth century immediately noted similarities in languages between such distant places as New Zealand, Hawaii, and parts of the Southeast Asian archipelago and concluded that most Pacific Islanders probably once shared a common homeland. By the early nineteenth century the languages of the Pacific islands, parts of Southeast Asia, and Madagascar had been categorized into a single family—the Malayo-Polynesian language group. Linguists subsequently argued for decades about the precise relationship between Malay and the Oceanic languages: did the latter emerge from the former or was the Malay a later, or earlier, arrival?¹⁰ This debate will not be discussed in detail since it is only partially relevant to the theme of this article. Of more direct relevance was the attention given to the possibilities of a link between the Indo-European and the Malayo-Polynesian language families.

Wilhelm von Humboldt, in his pioneering study of a Javanese language, found numerous Sanskrit words in Malay, Javanese, and Bughis languages but not in any other languages of the Malayo-Polynesian group. This suggested that such words were introduced relatively recently, after the Polynesian and Madagascan peoples had moved on from the Malay region. Humboldt, however, believed that Polynesian and Madagascan languages contained traces of a much older form of Sanskrit or "pre-Sanskrit," though he did not elaborate on this notion.¹¹ Franz Bopp, in his *Über die verwandtschaft der Malayisch-Polynesischen sprache mit den Indo-Europäischen*, published in Berlin in 1841, argued that Malayo-Polynesian had emerged from a Sanskrit so de-

cayed that grammatical affinities between Sanskrit and Malayo-Polynesian could never be found. But comparison of isolated words was possible, Bopp claimed, and he gave numerous examples. He concluded:

It might be coincidental that e.g. the New Zealand word *ra* the sun sounds like Sanskrit *ravi*, or *wetu* the star like Sanskrit *ketu* comet, or *wai* water like [Sanskrit] *vari*, or *awa* river like [Sanskrit] *apa* water . . . or *rere* to fly like [Sanskrit] *di*, or *pakau* the wing like [Sanskrit] *paksa*, or *reo* speak like [Sanskrit] *rava* voice. . . . But it is unbelievable that just coincidences trifled with all these words and with all the others from the same area of usage which we can compare with Sanskrit, especially as there is nearly complete unison in some classes or words, namely the pronouns and numerals which are predominantly important for the demarcation of the families of languages.¹²

Bopp, though an acclaimed authority on the comparative philology of Aryan languages, met with almost universal condemnation from his colleagues for what, in their view, were such arbitrary and fanciful verbal comparisons between Sanskrit and Malayo-Polynesian. Subsequent studies of Polynesian languages, such as by Horatio Hale of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, suggested that Polynesian languages had a simple or “primitive” structure rather than being remnants of such a highly complex language as Sanskrit, even if it were in a state of “decay.” But the appealing notion of links between Polynesian and Indo-European languages persisted. J. F. Logan, editor of the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, conducted extensive studies of Malay and Indian languages and claimed analogies between customs and languages of the “Bhotiya” of India and the peoples of southeast Malaya and Polynesia.¹³

None of the scholars mentioned so far had extensive experience of life and language in Polynesian itself. What they knew of Polynesian languages came from brief visits or, more commonly, from word lists or dictionaries and biblical translations from mission presses in various parts of Polynesia. Among the first island-based European scholars who considered the possibility of Polynesian and Aryan/Indo-European connections (as opposed to earlier views on Semitic origins) was John Rae from Maui, Hawaii. Rae was one of the more original intellects in the nineteenth-century Pacific. A Scotsman with medical training, Rae first pursued schoolteaching in Canada. There he wrote a treatise on politi-

cal economy that, though a commercial failure, influenced the likes of John Stuart Mill. In retrospect this work has been hailed as a major contribution to economic thought and has been republished twice this century. Rae moved to the Californian goldfields, where he failed to make his fortune, and in 1851 ended up living a rather sad and lonely existence in the isolated Hana district of Maui. He tried farming and was variously employed by the Hawaiian government as a doctor, teacher, and magistrate.¹⁴ Rae had a strong philosophical bent and was passionately interested in the classics, geology, and science generally. Some of his speculations on aeronautics, mechanics, and geology were generations ahead of his time. Among his surviving papers¹⁵ are accounts, too, of his interest in the Hawaiian people and of how, through studying their language and customs, he believed that he gained insights into human antiquity and cultural development.

I was I think first led to think of this from their language as my ear became accustomed to it seeming to babble so strangely of the Greek—like a child with its imitative propensities playing with the sounds. . . . I one day put this to a sort of test. The Hawaiian being eminently a vowel language they speak one rotundo and having scarcely concealed contempt for our tongue with its sibilants and sounds forced out between the lips. I have often caught them ridiculing our talk by giving a sort of caricature imitation of it. On the day to which I refer about half a dozen of them were in a room with me when one of them took up an English book and pretending to read gave utterance to sounds such as might be expressed thus psha psi chi cho sharo tum etc. I made them understand that that was not the way to read and taking up the volume and fixing my eyes on the page as if I was reading I gave them some of Homer's rolling hexameters and fearing to get aground there turned to an ode of Anacreon. They pricked up their ears in profound attention and uttered expressions of surprise and delight such as "Maikae maoli" "a thing truly and naturally good" etc and made me understand that they had never heard English read so before.¹⁶

Rae quickly concluded that the Hawaiians were "remnants of a race once extensively dominating in Asia" that then colonized the Pacific islands in "*very very* remote antiquity . . . antecedent to the formation of the Sanscrit & consequently all other known languages." He then set about to prove his case by trying to collect suitable research materials:

I am somewhat lame on the subject of conjectural attempts to trace real primitives the only book I have studied with reference to the subject being Damn's Lexicon of Homer. I believe a good deal has been done by the Germans but I am no German scholar. You might help me considerably by giving Mr Willson the name of any English, French or Latin work of character on the subject. I have also written Mr W. to send me copies of the Bible in the New Zealand and Tahitian tongues and any grammars & dictionaries of them that may be to be had. Also such works on the Sanscrit as may enable me to trace the derivatives in that Language.¹⁷

In 1862 he published an article in a Honolulu newspaper (edited by Abraham Fornander) about "two discoveries" that he considered of "very great and decided importance":

One of these implies that the original seat of the Polynesian race was in Central or Western Asia. I believe that it will be found that all those tongues which we designate as the Indo-European languages have their true root and origin in the Polynesian language. I am certain that this is the case as regards Greek and Sanscrit; I find reason to believe it to be so as to the Latin and more modern tongues, in short, as to all European languages, old and young. The precise relation which these bear to it is not so easily traced, but it is that of filiation; they are not cognate.

Rae's second discovery was that the study of Polynesian language "gives us the key to the original formation of language itself, and to its whole mechanism."¹⁸ Language, Rae believed, originated from gesture and facial expression—a notion that was considered seriously in the 1930s.¹⁹ Rae's "two discoveries" were of sufficient interest to be mentioned favorably by Max Müller in his second volume of *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 1864:

Strange as it may sound to hear the language of Homer and Ennius spoken as an offshoot of the Sandwich Islands, mere ridicule would be a very inappropriate and very inefficient answer to such a theory. It is not very long ago that all the Greek and Latin scholars of Europe shook their heads at the idea of tracing the roots of the classical languages back to Sanskrit, and even at the present moment there are still many persons who cannot

realize the fact that, at a very remote, but very real period in the history of the world, the ancestors of the Homeric poets and of the poets of the Veda must have lived together as members of one and the same race, as speakers of one and the same idiom.²⁰

Bopp's notion that Polynesian languages were a remnant of a decayed Sanskrit never again gained currency. Rae's idea that Polynesian predated Sanskrit became the accepted opinion of those who saw links between Polynesian and Indo-European languages.

W. D. Alexander, a Yale graduate and son of a missionary in Hawaii, taught Greek at Honolulu's Punahou School. He followed up Rae's Honolulu article in 1864 with a brief overview of the history of linguistic research into Polynesian languages, supported the idea of an ancient Asiatic and Indian origin, and made an impassioned plea for further linguistic research: "By the student of language in a future age the beautiful thought of Max Muller may yet be realised, so that to him the thousand languages of the earth will be 'like a chorus of innumerable voices to which the more intensely he listens, the more all discords will melt into one majestic trichord or unison is heard as at the end of a sacred symphony.'"²¹ The search for the Polynesian-Sanskrit connection was then pursued vigorously in New Zealand in the 1870s by armchair theorists in the pages of the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*. Edwin Fairburn argued for a relationship between Maori and "the Sanskrit, English, German, Greek, Latin, and Moorish languages" and that Maori was "a mixture of the Indo-European and Semitic."²² J. T. Thomson wrote a series of articles claiming, on linguistic and other grounds, that the Maori had at least part Aryan ancestry and originated in Barata, or south India.²³ Echoing Müller's statement that language was "fossil poetry,"²⁴ he went in search of Barat "fossil" words in Malay and Polynesian languages. He concluded that "Sanskrit and Hindu are the connecting links between European and Polynesian languages, but not as regards their roots, only abstract or secondary terms having been imprinted in the latter."²⁵ W. Vaux of the British Museum later argued in the same journal that the application of Grimm's Law on phonetic change to Malay and Polynesian languages suggested that "Malay and Polynesian, alike, ultimately came from some part of Central Asia."²⁶

By the late 1870s and early 1880s it was commonly assumed in scholarly circles that there was some connection between Polynesian languages and those of the Indo-European family, though there was considerable debate over the actual route into the Malay region—was it

direct from south India or did it come from north India via the south Asian mainland?²⁷ A number of writers at the time investigated Polynesian legends and claimed to find in them similarities with European tales.²⁸ Just as Rae reversed the assumed relationship between Sanskrit and Polynesian languages, the same was done for mythology. Edward Shortland in New Zealand, for example, argued:

When we consider the great remoteness of time at which it is possible that a connection between Aryans and Polynesians could have existed, we are carried back to the contemplation of a very primitive condition of the human race. In the Polynesian family we can still discover traces of this primitive condition of the human race. We can also observe a similarity between the more antient form of religious belief and mythological tradition of the Aryans and that still existing among Polynesians; for which reason we think it allowable to apply to the interpretation of old Aryan myths the principle we discover to guide us as to the significance of Polynesian Mythology.²⁹

But in many respects all these arguments had not added substantively to Bopp's assertion a generation earlier that there *was* a connection between Polynesian and Indo-European. What was needed to "prove" the notion was an extensive comparison of Polynesian and Indo-European language and culture. That could only be accomplished by someone very well versed in both a Polynesian language and culture and the Sanskrit and linguistic scholarship of Europe. Such a combination of skills was unlikely, but was met in modified form by Fornander and Tregear. These two men had remarkably similar backgrounds.³⁰ Tregear grew up in Southampton, England; Fornander in Oland, Sweden. From their earliest years they developed an acute sense of their respective European histories and folklores, and were very keen students of Greek and Latin language and literature. Both lost their fathers in their mid-teenage years. Both left their comfortable family homes and scholarly studies and traveled to the other side of the world where they experienced considerable physical hardship. Tregear spent many years surveying in the wilds of New Zealand's central North Island; Fornander went whaling in the Pacific. Both eventually settled down to domestic life, in New Zealand and Hawaii respectively, and became influential government administrators. Both became passionately interested in the language, history, and culture of Maori and Hawaiian people respectively. Both immersed themselves in the works of a number of Euro-

pean-based scholars, particularly the German-born Oxford professor of comparative linguistics, Max Müller.

Müller was the leading British Orientalist with a particular expertise in Sanskrit and the history and cultures of India.³¹ He translated many volumes of sacred Hindu texts including the *Rig-Veda* (in Müller's words "the first book of the Aryan nations")³² and was something of an academic cult figure in England with his astonishingly popular lectures and books on the "science" of language, religion, and mythology. Müller not only extolled ancient Indian literature and culture, which he believed had played a fundamental role in the development of Western intellectual and cultural tradition, but also was obsessed with the notion of a single, glorious Aryan ancestry that he believed most modern Europeans and Indians shared. Müller was rather extreme in his insistence on the centrality of Sanskrit and the concept of an Aryan brotherhood. Other British scholars like John Crawfurd (known as "the Objector-General") wrote considered and hard-hitting critiques of "Aryan theory" and the identification of language with race.³³ Müller remained a devout adherent to the notion of an Aryan brotherhood, though he admitted in an 1872 lecture in Germany the fallacy of "arguing from language to blood-relationship."³⁴ But most of his followers elsewhere in the world who already had his major books on their shelves were unaware of this apparent change of heart.

Müller considered the science of language to be one of the natural or physical sciences. His philological studies did not have mere linguistic purposes but, along with studies of plants and animals, human societies, the earth and the heavens, were a means of investigating broad historical and philosophic issues concerning the biological and cultural origins and development of mankind. Müller was a popularizer and generalizer. His works were sufficiently eclectic and historiographic to expose the likes of Fornander and Tregear not only to the development and findings of comparative philology and mythology but also of other related sciences. "The study of mankind," Müller wrote, "is making rapid progress in our days. The early history of the human race . . . has now been taken up in good earnest by men who care for facts only." Thus the comparative study of religion, legends, laws, customs, and manners could also reveal, as could language, fossils, or survivals of ancient lifestyles that, claimed Müller, provided "a real and living idea of the early ancestors of our race."³⁵ Steeped in such ideology, Fornander and Tregear respectively examined Hawaiian and Maori language, myth, and culture and claimed to detect in them remnants or survivals

from those ancient times when Aryan civilization first emerged on the high tablelands of Tartary and when some of its members voyaged through India and on to the islands of the Pacific.

Both Tregear and Fornander acknowledged their indebtedness to Müller, in particular to his two-volumed *Lectures on the Science of Language* (1861, 1864) and his four-volumed *Chips from a German Workshop* (1868–1875) from which they drew a good deal of their non-Polynesian information as well as their understanding of comparative philology and mythology. Tregear idolized Müller and expressed the most extreme confidence in the techniques of “Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology . . . the two youngest and fairest daughters of Knowledge.”³⁶ While Müller was perhaps the major European-based influence on Fornander and Tregear, both men were familiar with much of the literature on Aryan origins for Polynesians mentioned above. Fornander offered his indebtedness to Bopp “for the first idea of comparing the Polynesian and Aryan language with a view to establishing their common origin,” though he rejected Bopp’s contention that Malay was “a corrupted daughter of the Sanskrit” and that Polynesian was “a still worse corrupted grand daughter.”³⁷ But Fornander supported Bopp’s technique of word comparison and spent considerable time in the introduction to his third volume countering the criticism that scholars like W. D. Whitney and A. H. Sayce had leveled at Bopp for his methods of Polynesian and Indo-European linguistic comparison.³⁸ Fornander also thanked John Rae, who “first called attention to the extreme antiquity of the Polynesian language.”³⁹ Tregear noted that his interest was first stimulated by Thomson’s articles in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*.⁴⁰

While both Tregear and Fornander acknowledged their indebtedness to a long tradition of linguistic and related scholarship, they nevertheless made considerable claims for the originality of their views. Having demonstrated to their own satisfaction that Polynesians had Aryan origins, they tended to assume that this was *their* discovery. Fornander explained that he had seen “so many varying theories about the origin of the Polynesians, and all of them extra-forensic” that he “determined to set forth the data which the Polynesians themselves possessed about their Origin and Migration.”⁴¹ He felt that the Hawaiian people would not hesitate to accept his views but claimed that he was somewhat diffident about offering his conclusions to the “literati of foreign lands” since he considered himself a “pioneer in an untrodden field.”⁴² Tregear had no such real or feigned modesty. He positively boasted about his

pioneering role and rather misleadingly proclaimed himself to be "the first to apply the scientific method to the Maori language, and to prove the fellowship of the Polynesian with the races of Europe."⁴³

Once both men became aware of each other's work, they indulged in mutual congratulations. Tregear sent Fornander a copy of his *Aryan Maori*. Fornander praised Tregear for having "on independent grounds arrived at the same conclusion" as himself.

It is a great pleasure to me, and a matter of unalloyed satisfaction to notice that the Polynesian question is coming to the front more and more, and that gentlemen of education and literary attainments are turning their attention toward it. . . . The Asiatic, Caucasian, Aryan origin is the one that will receive the attention of the ethnologists and linguists in the future. . . . We have doubtless made many mistakes in our linguistic comparisons: bones for the critics to gnaw and to worry us with; but after all such mistakes and errors have been sifted out, I think the principle we contend for will remain intact and be established as an ethnological fact.⁴⁴

This self-assessment proved remarkably accurate. For the next fifty years virtually every ethnographer/anthropologist of note examining Polynesian cultures believed them to have had some Aryan ancestry.⁴⁵ However, it should be noted that many European linguistic scholars were, by the end of the nineteenth century, very skeptical of claims for Aryan/Polynesian linguistic links. Furthermore, nonspecialist readers of this article should be aware that modern scholarship rejects the theory of Aryan origins for the peoples of Polynesia. So-called Polynesian linguistic and cultural characteristics are now thought to have evolved largely within the region of Polynesia. The ancestors of these people can be traced back to the region of the South China Sea some four to six thousand years ago.

NOTES

Some of the research for this paper was conducted while I was the Andrews Distinguished Scholar at the Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawaii. I am very grateful to staff there for their assistance, as well as to staff at the Pacific Collection in the University of Hawaii's Hamilton Library, and at the Bishop Museum.

1. Abraham Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race, Its Origin and Migrations, and the Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I*, 3 vols. (London, 1878-1885); Edward Tregear, *The Aryan Maori* (Wellington, 1885).

2. Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, vol. 1, p. iv.
3. Tregear, *The Aryan Maori*, p. 103. Orakau is the place where some Maori warriors put up a particularly spirited fight during the New Zealand wars of the 1860s. For one interpretation of Tregear's *Aryan Maori* see Michael Belgrave, "Archipelago of Exiles: A Study in the Imperialism of Ideas: Edward Tregear and John Macmillan Brown" (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Auckland, 1979).
4. Fornander to Erik Ljungstedt, 24 May 1879, *Abraham Fornander: Thirteen Letters to Erik Ljungstedt*, ed. Christian Callmer (Lund, 1973), p. 25. See also Fornander's *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, vol. 3, p. 13.
5. Tregear, *The Aryan Maori*, p. 38.
6. For example, on Tregear see A. S. Atkinson, "The Ayro-Semitic Maori," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* 19 (1886), pp. 552-576; on Fornander see *The Saturday Review*, 9 Feb. 1878, pp. 180-181; *The Evening Post* (New York), 28 Aug. 1884; *The Nation*, 26 Aug. 1886, p. 181. These and other reviews can be found in various Fornander papers, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, e.g., Fornander Memorabilia Box 4, and MS Group 262.
7. M. P. K. Sorrenson, *Maori Origins and Migrations* (Auckland, 1979), p. 7. See also A. Howard, "Polynesian Origins and Migrations: A Review of Two Centuries of Speculation and Theory," in *Polynesian Culture History*, ed. G. A. Highland (Honolulu, 1967), pp. 45-101.
8. Quoted in Leon Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe* (New York, 1974), p. 190.
9. There are numerous histories of nineteenth-century linguistics. Useful is Holger Pedersen, *The Discovery of Language: Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington, 1962). See also Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth*, chap. 9.
10. For example, A. H. Keane, "On the Relations of the Indo-Chinese and Inter-Oceanic Races and Languages," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 9 (1880), pp. 254-301; J. Fraser, "The Malayo-Polynesian Theory," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 4 (1895), pp. 241-255; 5 (1896), pp. 92-100.
11. W. D. Alexander, "The Polynesian Language: Its Origin and Connections," *The Friend* (Honolulu), 1 Jan. 1864, pp. 2-3.
12. Franz Bopp, *Über die verwandtschaft der Malayisch-Polynesischen sprache mit den Indo-Europäischen* (Berlin, 1841), pp. 6-7. I am grateful to Jutta Brünger for this translation.
13. For example, J. R. Logan, "Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands," *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia* 5 (1851), pp. 211-243, 249-585; n.s. 3 (1859), pp. 65-98.
14. R. Warren James, *John Rae, Political Economist: An Account of His Life and a Compilation of His Main Writings*, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1965). Rae's treatise was entitled *Statement of Some New Principles on the Subject of Political Economy, Exposing the Fallacies of the System of Free Trade, and Some Other Doctrines Maintained in the "Wealth of Nations"* (Boston, 1834).

15. John Rae Papers, Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
16. Rae to [probably R. C. Wyllie?], [1854], Rae Papers. R. C. Wyllie was a fellow Scotsman who was minister for foreign relations in Kamehameha III's government.
17. Rae to [Wyllie?], [late 1850s], Rae Papers. Willson was a correspondent of Rae's in Canada.
18. Rae, "Polynesian Languages," *The Polynesian* (Honolulu), 27 Sept., 4 Oct., 11 Oct. 1862. This article is reprinted in James, *John Rae*, vol. 1, pp. 368–399.
19. See Richard Paget, *Human Speech* (New York, 1930), p. 157. Paget was so impressed with Rae's *Polynesian* article that he included it as an appendix to his book, pp. 318–353.
20. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language* (London, 1864), vol. 2, pp. 10–11. It is worth noting that what Rae and others claimed for Polynesian languages was also being claimed for certain language families of Africa. W. H. I. Bleek argued in his *Comparative Grammar of the South African Languages* (London, 1862) that the "origin of the grammatical forms, of gender and number, the etymology of pronouns, and many other questions of the highest interest to the philologist, find their true solution in Southern Africa"; see Müller, *Science of Language*, vol. 2, p. 12.
21. W. D. Alexander, "The Polynesian Language: Its Origin and Connections," *The Friend* (Honolulu), 5 Feb. 1864, p. 12. The first part of the article appeared in the issue for 1 Jan. 1864. A modified version of this article prefaces volume three of Fornander's *An Account of the Polynesian Race*.
22. Edwin Fairburn, "On the Analogy Between the Maori and Indo-European Language," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* 3 (1870), pp. 314–315.
23. J. T. Thomson, "Ethnographic Considerations on the Whence of the Maori," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* 4 (1871), pp. 23–51; "On Barata Numerals," *ibid.*, 5 (1872), pp. 131–138; "Philological Considerations on the Whence of the Maori," *ibid.*, 6 (1873), pp. xxv–lxv; "Barat or Barata Fossil Words," *ibid.*, 11 (1878), pp. 157–185; "Pronouns and Other Barat Fossil Words Compared with Primeval and Non-Aryan Languages of Hindostan and Borders," *ibid.*, 12 (1879), pp. 223–237.
24. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop* (London, 1868), vol. 2, p. 54.
25. Thomson, "Ethnographic Considerations," p. 48.
26. W. Vaux, "On the Probable Origins of the Maori Races," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* 8 (1875), p. 53.
27. Keane, "Indo-Chinese and Inter-Oceanic Races," pp. 254–301.
28. For example, Adolf Bastian, *Die heilige sage der Polynesier. Kosmogonie und theogonie* (Leipzig, 1881).
29. Edward Shortland, *Maori Religion and Mythology* (London, 1882), p. 3.
30. E. H. Davis, *Abraham Fornander: A Biography* (Honolulu, 1979). I am currently writing a biography of Edward Tregear.

31. On Müller see Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Scholar Extraordinary: The Life of Professor the Rt. Hon. Friedrich Max Müller* (London, 1974).
32. Müller, *Chips*, vol. 1, p. 60.
33. John Crawford, "On the Aryan or Indo-Germanic Theory," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* 1 (1861), pp. 268-286; "On Language as a Test for the Races of Man," *ibid.*, 3 (1865), pp. 1-9. There was also some opposition in Australia and New Zealand to such assumptions; see Sorrenson, *Origins and Migrations*, p. 19.
34. Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth*, pp. 213-214.
35. Müller, *Chips*, vol. 2, chap. 15.
36. Tregear, *Aryan Maori*, p. 1. Tregear dedicated his *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (Wellington, 1891) to Müller in the following words: "in admiration of the genius and learning which he has devoted to the science of language and in gratitude for words of kind encouragement and sympathy sent over the sea to the author."
37. Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, vol. 3, p. 2.
38. W. D. Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language* (New York, 1870), p. 245; A. H. Sayce, *Introduction to the Science of Language* (London, 1880), vol. 1, p. 49.
39. Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, vol. 1, p. vi.
40. Tregear, *The Aryan Maori*, p. 106.
41. Fornander to Ljungstedt, 24 April 1878, *Thirteen Letters*, p. 14.
42. Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, vol. 1, p. ix.
43. Tregear, *The Aryan Maori*, p. 104.
44. Fornander to Tregear, 7 October 1886, private collection of H. Robinson, Auckland.
45. Sorrenson, *Origins and Migrations*.

NOBLE TRADITIONS AND CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES
AS NATIONAL IDEOLOGY IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA:
DO THEIR PHILOSOPHIES COMPLEMENT OR CONTRADICT
EACH OTHER?

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The Preamble of the Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea states:

WE, THE PEOPLE OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA . . . pledge ourselves to guard and pass on to those who come after us our noble traditions and the Christian principles that are ours now.¹

A superficial glance at the phrase “our noble traditions and Christian principles” immediately conjures up the picture of two different sets of ideologies, each forming a pillar quite different from the other, perhaps, in shape, color, and substance. However, they should complement each other, and upon them the Constitution of the newly independent nation of Papua New Guinea firmly rests. Is this the real situation?

The answer must depend on what the phrase “our noble traditions” really means. Many educated Papua New Guineans—and other Pacific Islanders, writers and politicians in particular—often lament what they regard as an unwarranted and shameful destruction of their traditional cultures when Europeans imposed their alien Western civilization.² For example, during the opening of the 1980 South Pacific Arts Festival in Port Moresby, the then minister for culture and tourism, dressed in his

fantastically beautiful traditional ceremonial dress, launched a vicious attack on Christian missions for destroying Papua New Guinea's traditional cultures.³ If the phrase "our noble traditions" therefore means the traditions regarded before the coming of Europeans as noble by the various cultures in what is now the independent nation of Papua New Guinea, it seems reasonable to suggest that the philosophies behind the so-called two ideological bases of the national Constitution cannot possibly complement each other. They, in fact, contradict each other. "Christian principles" refer to those Christian teachings on basic issues such as truth, freedom, equality, love, forgiveness, peace making, and giving. "Noble traditions," however, were determined by value systems that were heavily influenced by fear, superstition, hatred, and revenge. Consequently, in addition to traditions that were quite compatible with Christian principles (such as caring for and sharing with one's kin), those value systems also allowed certain actions to be regarded as noble that were quite contrary to Christian principles. The following examples illustrate this point.

The Status of Women

In spite of the well known but often unsubstantiated generalization by many social scientists about the egalitarian nature of Melanesian societies,⁴ women throughout Papua New Guinea were not given equal status with men.⁵ This is, of course, not peculiar to Papua New Guinea. Women in many of the world's most modern countries of the West are still struggling for equal status.⁶ However, the situation for women in the traditional societies in Papua New Guinea was very harsh indeed. With few exceptions women were excluded from religious or sacred ceremonies on the grounds of their assumed inferiority.⁷ They were believed to be a source of pollution dangerous to men. In fact, in many areas "the people generally believed that if a man came into contact, even in the most indirect manner, with menstrual blood he would sicken and perhaps die."⁸ Even two or three years ago, a Highlander axed his wife to death when he found out that she had been cooking food for him and his friends during menstruation.⁹ Young male novices in initiation ceremonies were taught how to bleed their noses or their tongues, incise the penis, or make themselves vomit by swallowing a long piece of cane. All of these were designed to cleanse them of the polluting effects of their mothers and other women with whom they had been living until then.¹⁰ From then on direct contact with women had to be avoided at all cost during the period of seclusion. Women were deliberately misled

about the sacred rites being taught to young male novices during initiation ceremonies. The sound of the sacred flutes that the young initiates were taught to play, for example, was explained to women as being made by large birds or celestial beings visiting the men's club during the period of initiation. One researcher stated, "The men agreed that the tale was invented for the express purpose of deceiving the women and keeping them in a position of inferiority."¹¹

Indeed, keeping women in a position of inferiority, it seems, was a noble tradition among men in Papua New Guinea. Real knowledge—sacred knowledge—was denied them.¹² So were positions of leadership. Throughout Polynesian history prior to European contact there had been some powerful and outstanding women leaders.¹³ In general, this was not so in Melanesia, let alone in Papua New Guinea.¹⁴ There were no "big women," only "big men." The role of women in politics was indirect, limited to some quiet influencing of their big-men husbands in making decisions, but mostly to producing the wealth in the form of pigs, vegetables, and other things that their husbands used in the search for bigmanship.¹⁵

Social Relations and Social Control

Within the small, fragmented societies of traditional Papua New Guinea, as in other human societies of a similar kind, relations between members were characterized by affection, devotion to each other, caring, and sharing. Offenses were punished, but the punishments were controlled. Shaming the offender was a very common form of punishment. A rape within a community, for example, would not necessarily lead to killing or open warfare. Compensation was organized and paid, or the offender was subjected to a mock fight where he was severely dealt with by the members of the group.¹⁶ When fighting broke out, weapons used were normally limited to fists, sticks, or stones. Spears or bow and arrows were generally reserved for use against enemy tribes.¹⁷ Theft rarely occurred. Lying, stealing, adultery, murder, and incest were strictly forbidden within these traditional societies throughout Papua New Guinea.¹⁸ Papua New Guinean scholars and church leaders often point to these qualities in human relationship as noble traditions of the people that should be preserved and passed on to future generations.¹⁹

The only problem with this suggestion is the fact that these noble behaviors rarely extended beyond the social, economic, and geographical boundaries of each small local community and its allies. Indeed, it

was not at all ignoble to raid the gardens of your enemies, steal their pigs, rape their women, or kill in spite of the fact that retaliation was almost certain. In cases of raping women of another clan or tribe, the ultimate and the most noble way of settling the score was to pay back in kind or to go to war.²⁰ The ultimate way also of settling intercommunity land disputes was to go to war—killing people and destroying property. In cases of murder, payback killing was a must. All of these, in the eyes of the people of the traditional societies in Papua New Guinea—seen through the logic of their own philosophy of life—were very noble traditions indeed.

The use of sorcery and magic as a means of social control was an integral part of the way of life of these societies. Different varieties were used for healing, gardening, protection, and so on.²¹ A modern version to attract love calls for a man to roll one of his pubic hairs in a cigarette and give it to the lady of his desire. After smoking it, it is believed, the lady will dream that night of having sexual intercourse with him, a dream that is supposed to be realized in real life very soon.²² However, the most prevalent form of sorcery and magic was called black magic, in which the aim was to kill or to make people sicken and eventually die. The practice is still very strong in many parts of Papua New Guinea. In November 1982 a priest reported that when a young boy died suddenly, a meeting was held to find out who was responsible for the sorcery that caused his death. After some discussion the boy's father suddenly pointed to a young woman who had been dumb since birth. Realizing the implication of that finger pointing, the young woman fled; the whole village chased after her. She jumped into a river and drowned. Everyone sighed with relief. They had duly avenged the boy's death.²³ To these people, this was indeed a noble act.

Wife bashing was another form of social control. In an article on 20 February 1987, the *Fiji Sun* reported:

Papua New Guinea's police chiefs have been told to stop bashing their wives. It's the first step in a campaign to crack down on domestic violence in a land where husbands have for centuries believed they have every right to beat their women.

"Some of you men have beat your wives," Police Commissioner David Tasion told provincial police commanders meeting in Rabaul.

"Look gentlemen, we've all done it. We know we, too, are at fault. . . . We've got to stop beating our wives," he said.

Initiation Ceremonies

One of the most noble traditions among traditional societies in Papua New Guinea was initiation. Initiation ceremonies were instituted to mark the entry of young people—men and women—to adulthood.²⁴ In one group in the Sepik

a girl was usually living in her husband's village at the time of her first menses. She informed her brother, who then built a hut in the bush where she retired for about a week with an elderly female relative in attendance. During her seclusion, she fasted for as long as she could and refrained from drinking and smoking. Her attendant regularly rubbed her body with nettles and taught her how to thrust a roll of the weed in and out of her vulva. The stinging was believed to make her breasts large and low-hanging and in general further her physical development.²⁵

In another area of the Sepik, in addition to bleeding the nose, tongue cutting, and the incision of the penis, initiation also necessitated scarification with "irresponsible bullying and swagger on the part of the men":²⁶

In the process of scarification nobody cares how the little boys bear their pain. If they scream, some of the initiators go and hammer on the gongs to drown the sound. The father of the little boy will perhaps stand by and watch the process, occasionally saying in a conventional way "That's enough! that's enough!" but no attention is paid to him . . . when pain is inflicted in other parts of initiation, it is done by men who enjoy doing it and who carry out their business in a cynical, practical-joking spirit. The drinking of filthy water is a great joke and the wretched novices are tricked into drinking plenty of it . . . In the first week of their seclusion, the novices are subjected to a great variety of cruel and harsh tricks.²⁷

One of my students from the Sepik, in a prize-winning essay on labor recruiting in his area, claimed that young men volunteered for work in gold mines or plantations in order to escape these severe and painful initiation ceremonies. Others escaped by going to boarding schools.²⁸ It is

hard to imagine Michael Somare, Bernard Naroboki, Tony Siaguru, Tony Bais, and other prominent leaders from the Sepik submitting their sons and daughters to these rituals, and yet, in the eyes of their ancestors, these initiation ceremonies constituted one of the most sacred and noble traditions.

Cannibalism

Human flesh was commonly consumed in many parts of Papua New Guinea. Two or three years before independence, two men were brought before the court for cutting up a dead body and roasting the meat for a meal. Their defense was that they had had nothing to do with killing the deceased, and it was their custom to consume dead bodies.²⁹ The invariably fatal disease of the nervous system called *kuru*, "laughing disease," common among the Fore people of the eastern Highlands, is believed by medical authorities to be due to cannibalism, particularly to eating half-cooked brain. The disease killed four to eight females for each male death. According to one researcher, "among the South Fore people *kuru* victims were regularly eaten by female kinswomen."³⁰ The Bena Bena people regarded the consuming of the dead bodies of certain kinsmen as "right and proper."³¹

The above traditional practices were sanctioned by the value systems held by those traditional societies as noble. Yet, with the exception of initiation ceremonies that are conveniently ignored by most of the modern elite, the present leaders of Papua New Guinea openly and vehemently denounce these practices—the suppression of women, payback killing, tribal wars, cannibalism, and the use of sorcery—urging people to forsake them or even legislating to outlaw them. What then did the framers of the Papua New Guinea Constitution mean by the phrase "our noble traditions"?

By eliminating the noble traditions or practices of the ancestors mentioned above, the answer seems now clear. Culture is never static. It is a living entity. It changes with the changing needs and aspirations of a people.³² When change occurs in one aspect of the culture, all other aspects are inevitably affected.³³ Since Christianity has been accepted by the majority of Papua New Guineans, its principles have become an important element in the value system of the emerging nation. This newly integrated value system is now the criterion by which the majority of Papua New Guineans decide whether an act or practice is noble or otherwise. Cannibalism, payback killing, sorcery and magic, raiding

the gardens of enemies, and raping their women are no longer regarded by most Papua New Guineans as noble. The fact that some of these things still happen, as they indeed occur also in other countries of the world, does not indicate public acceptance or approval.

Contrary to tradition, Christian missions gave women a place in religion. Church membership was open to them, and education, both spiritual and secular, became available to them, although training for the Christian ministry was normally reserved for men until very recently. Able women became increasingly eligible for important positions of leadership in the church and in society, in spite of strong resistance, as might be expected, from the more conservative elements. This new trend was further encouraged by the Australian colonial administration after World War II and, at independence, the promotion of women became enshrined in the Constitution³⁴ and the government's Eight Point Plan. Today many Papua New Guineans witness with pride women's playing important roles in politics, public service, educational institutions, commerce, and health services. Keeping women inferior to men is no longer acceptable to most Papua New Guineans, in accordance with international trends.

The caring, sharing, and communal activities that were important characteristics of traditional clan life were encouraged by the Christian missions and were extended beyond tribal boundaries, even to communities that had been traditional enemies.³⁵ The expressive aspects of the traditional cultures, such as dancing and carving, were in many cases related to sexual practices incongruent with Christian teaching, and to warrior cults. On these grounds they were opposed by the missions initially, but most have now developed into pure artistic forms, and many are no longer associated with their former cultural meanings. Dancing, carving, and many other artistic forms of expression are part of the national culture and, as such, are encouraged.³⁶

If the present noble traditions and Christian principles are in many respects identical and in most others compatible, why is it that many educated Papua New Guineans tend to insist on maximizing the separateness and distinctness of what is more realistically a congruent set of principles?

First, I believe it is part of a natural search for a national identity from within one's own cultural precedents. This is reinforced by underlying anticolonial sentiments that are difficult to eliminate entirely, considering the racial and exploitative attitudes prevalent among colonialists in the past. Christianity, in the minds of many Papua New Guin-

eans, was an important arm of colonialism. I never heard the assertion that "Christianity was a white man's religion" until I went to Papua New Guinea. In Polynesia, Christianity had arrived long before the fierce scramble for colonies that characterized the Pacific in the late nineteenth century. The strength of traditional cultures forced the missionaries to take Christianity to the villages,³⁷ and the emphasis was on religious conversion. After the people accepted Christianity, they incorporated it as an integral part of their cultures. The church—Roman Catholic or Protestant—became their church, and the identification with it was complete.³⁸ Even today, people who are opposed to Christianity (and there are some) do so because they do not believe in religion anymore, or because they have adopted some other religion, such as the Bahai faith; it is never because of any belief that Christianity is a white man's religion. On the contrary, whereas the overwhelming majority of Polynesians are active Christians, most of the Europeans they meet are not.

In contrast to Polynesia's experience, however, the Christianization of Melanesia coincided with the period of intense colonization in the Pacific and elsewhere. In Papua New Guinea, the colonial administrations and mission organizations worked closely together.³⁹ Missionaries, including many Polynesians, were used to further the policies of colonial governments in remote areas.⁴⁰ In return, the administrators offered the missionaries security and much practical help. It was indeed a marriage of convenience.

During this period in the history of missiology, the "industrial mission" was hailed as the correct approach to converting the heathens.⁴¹ It aimed at developing the whole man—body, mind, and spirit.⁴² The older approach of concentrating primarily on spiritual conversion was regarded as too limited and inadequate.⁴³ Industrial mission required the purchase of large tracts of land for plantations where the converts would be trained in plantation work, and where laborers would be led to know and accept Christ and to help the missions to become financially self-supporting eventually.

The mission headquarters usually had large plantations for the above reasons as well as a school or schools, a hospital, a theological institution, and, in some places, a technical institution and an agricultural institution.⁴⁴ These headquarters became the centers of the missions. The senior missionaries, mostly Europeans, stayed in these centers to manage the plantations and administer the other institutions. They had very little time to visit the villages. All important dates of the mission calendar were celebrated in these centers. The villagers had to travel to

the mission centers, sometimes up to two days, to celebrate Christmas, Easter, and so on.⁴⁵

Before World War II the social, economic, and political gulf between the missionaries and their converts in Papua New Guinea had become so wide that any idea of bridging it, as far as Papua New Guineans were concerned, was unthinkable. Decision making in most cases was done entirely by the European missionaries. This situation persisted until the 1950s. The whole system closely reflected the colonial setup; it is little wonder that in Papua New Guinea Christianity came to be regarded as a white man's religion and that some therefore resisted integrating it into their own societies. In Tonga, where land is extremely scarce because of its small size, church people often speak affectionately of the farsightedness of earlier missionaries in securing long leases on land for their church (999 years in some cases). In Papua New Guinea, where land shortages are much less of a problem, the people have been demanding, sometimes with threat of violence, the return of mission lands; Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands plantations are involved.⁴⁶ In some areas the people—church members—simply took over these plantations by moving in and squatting.

The second reason for the tendency to maximize the separateness of "noble tradition" and "Christian principles" is a resentment by the younger, better-educated generation, who are now taking over the leadership of the country, of the kinds of treatment that some missionaries were supposed to have meted out to their less-educated grandparents, parents, or siblings. An ex-seminarian, an outstanding politician and businessman, bitterly complained when he was a student at the University of Papua New Guinea about how the priests treated his elder brother "like dirt" when his brother visited him at the seminary. A female ex-student of mine, who now holds a very high position in a tertiary institution in Papua New Guinea, told me with uninhibited frankness and intense bitterness that she would never forget how Polynesian missionaries treated her mother like a slave.

I suspect that the ex-seminarian's brother did not consider himself to have been treated like dirt. He may not have seen any possibility of bridging the gap between him and the European missionaries, and was therefore prepared to accept whatever status the priests gave him. His better-educated and highly successful younger brother saw the situation differently and resented it bitterly. I also suspect that the young lady's mother accepted as normal the treatment she received from Polynesian missionaries. To her, as to many of her generation as well as earlier gen-

erations, it may have been an honor and a privilege to serve in a household of a missionary, a situation with benefits as well as drawbacks.⁴⁷ Her better-educated, more sophisticated, and highly successful daughter saw only paternalism and exploitation and hence her bitterness.

The search for indigenous identity and the resentment of past colonial practices, including certain missionary activities, by present Papua New Guinean leaders are understandable. Both are inescapable consequences of colonialism or other situations of extreme imbalance of power. The resentment toward Christian missions is only directed at certain practices of some missionaries and not against Christian principles. Side by side with this resentment is an appreciation of the positive effects of colonialism and missionization.⁴⁸ There is therefore inevitably a high degree of ambivalence in the attitudes of Papua New Guinean leaders toward the colonial experience and Christian missions.

Papua New Guinean leaders need to be reminded that things they have adopted from the outside world and integrated into their cultures are no longer foreign. They have become an integral part of the emerging national culture that has begun to replace the more localized unique traditions. There is no way of returning to those traditions of their ancestors, many of which have ceased to be appropriate and meaningful in the modern economic, political, and social context. For example, a few years ago the government encouraged people to wear their traditional dress one day a week, to be called Toana Day. This exercise was soon abandoned for lack of popular support. Serious attempts in other Third World countries to revive elements of culture that are no longer valued have been equally futile and disastrous.

Most of the framers of the Constitution of Papua New Guinea came from families with strong Christian backgrounds. Some may not practice Christianity, some may be against organized churches, but probably none would have any objection to the basic Christian principles. It is therefore the practices that are compatible with Christian principles and legitimized by the spirit of British common law (which was in fact inspired to a large degree by Christian principles) that are now regarded as noble traditions. These have become an integral part of the modern Papua New Guinean way of life or culture.

If this interpretation is accepted, it means that "noble traditions" and "Christian principles" are not two differing sets of principles, as they at first appeared. The latter phrase is, in fact, embodied or implied in the former. Therefore, to have had the phrase "Christian principles" included in the Preamble of the Constitution of Papua New Guinea seems quite redundant. To a layman like myself the inclusion of "Christian

principles" appears to have a serious Constitutional implication, a pledge made in the name of the people of Papua New Guinea to "guard" Christianity "and pass" it "on to those who come after us." The question that one must ask now is, does not this contradict the provisions in the Constitution itself, which guarantee freedom of religion?⁴⁹

NOTES

I am greatly indebted to Professor Ron Crocombe, Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, for his valuable comments on the first draft of this paper.

1. Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea, 1975, 1.

2. This conviction is strongly held by a great majority of educated people from countries that had been colonized by imperial powers in the past. It is less marked among the educated Tongans. The difference may be explained by the fact that Tonga had never been colonized.

3. S. Tago, "All of Our Life Was a Sacrament," *Papua New Guinea Times*, 26 September 1980.

4. See M. D. Sahlins, "Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia," in *Readings in Australian and Pacific Anthropology*, edited by I. Hogbin and L. R. Hiatt (Melbourne, 1966). (First published in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* [1963].)

5. M. J. Meggitt, "Male-Female Relationships in the Highlands of Australian New Guinea," in *Cultures of the Pacific: Selected Readings*, edited by G. T. Harding and B. J. Wallace (New York, 1970), 125-143. (First published in *American Anthropologist* 66 [1964], special publication.) See also A. Chowning, "Lakalai Kinship," *Anthropological Forum* 1 (1963-1966).

6. The strong feminist movements in Western countries are clear evidence of the lack of equality between the sexes in those countries. In the Middle East and Asia, the place of women in some countries dominated by Islamic and other religious faiths is, even today, still very far from being equal with that of men.

7. Discussing the Kamano people in the Highlands of New Guinea, Ronald Berndt wrote, "sex demarcation is strictly observed (in the festivals). The rituals and ceremonies associated with the flutes, as symbols of male dominance, accentuate it. Men apparently feel that they must exert this pressure, continually reassuring themselves that they are superior to women" (R. M. Berndt, *Excess and Restraint: Social Control among a New Guinea Mountain People* [Chicago, 1962], 67). See also M. Reay, *The Kuma: Freedom and Conformity in the New Guinea Highlands* (Melbourne, 1959), 62; J. Nilles, "The Kuman of the Chimbu Region, Central Highlands, New Guinea," *Oceania* 21 (1950): 48.

8. M. Allen, "Initiation," in *Encyclopaedia of Papua New Guinea*, edited by P. Ryan (Melbourne, 1972), 1:553; see also Meggitt, "Male-Female Relationships," 126-130.

9. Meggitt reported that a Taro man in the 1950s divorced his wife for the same reason and later killed her in spite of Meggitt's advice against such action ("Male-Female Relationships," 439 n. 8).
10. Ibid., 130; Allen, "Initiation," 1:555.
11. Allen, "Initiation," 1:555.
12. Berndt, *Excess and Restraint*, 67-72.
13. See R. P. Gilson, *Samoa 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-cultural Community* (Melbourne, 1970), 58; S. Lātūkefu, *Church and State in Tonga* (Canberra, 1974), 13-15.
14. See D. Counts, "Tamparonga: 'The Big Women' of Kaliai (Papua New Guinea)," in *In Her Prime*, edited by J. K. Brown and Virginia Kern (South Hadley, Mass., 1985).
15. See Sahlins, "Poor Man, Rich Man."
16. R. M. Berndt, "Social Control," in *Encyclopaedia*, edited by Ryan, 2:1056-7.
17. Statement by John Waiko concerning conflicts among his own people in Northern Province, made at a seminar, History Department, University of Papua New Guinea, 1985. See also Berndt, "Social Control," 2:1058.
18. L. L. Langness, "Ethics," in *Encyclopaedia*, edited by Ryan, 1:379; see also R. M. Glasse, "Revenge and Redress among the Huli," *Mankind* 5 (1954); H. J. Hogbin, "Shame: A Study of Social Conformity in a New Guinea Village," *Oceania* 17 (1946-1947); P. M. Kaberry, "Law and Political Organization in the Abelam Tribe, New Guinea," *Oceania* 12 (1941-1942); K. E. Read, "Morality and the Concept of the Person among the Gatraku Gama," *Oceania* 25 (1954-1955); F. E. Williams, "Group Sentiment and Primitive Justice," *American Anthropologist* 43 (1951).
19. See Preamble, Constitution, 1; B. Narakobi, "The Old and the New," in *Ethics and Development in Papua New Guinea*, edited by G. Fugmann (Goroka, Papua New Guinea: The Melanesian Institute, 1986).
20. Berndt, "Social Control," 2:1056-8.
21. Ibid., 2:1059, 1063; see also L. B. Glick, "Sangguma," in *Encyclopaedia*, edited by Ryan, 2:1029; L. B. Glick, "Sorcery and Witchcraft," in *Encyclopaedia*, edited by Ryan, 2:1080-2; Berndt, *Excess and Restraint*, 223-228; R. F. Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu* (London, 1932), 284-287; C. Wedgwood, "Sickness and Its Treatment in Manam Island, New Guinea," *Oceania* 5 (1934-1935): 60-70.
22. P. Lawrence, "Religion and Magic," in *Encyclopaedia*, edited by Ryan, 2:1003.
23. This story was told at a seminar on "Noble Traditions and Christianity as National Ideology in Papua New Guinea," held at North Solomons University Centre, Papua New Guinea, November 1983.
24. Allen, "Initiation," 1:552-558.
25. Ibid., 1:553.
26. Ibid., 1:557.
27. Ibid.

28. Jacob Sasingian, *A History Essay on Labour Recruiting in the East Sepik*, University of Papua New Guinea, 1976.
29. The men were found guilty and were sentenced to two years imprisonment for disturbing a corpse.
30. Allen, "Initiation," 1:587.
31. Langness, "Ethics," 1:379.
32. See S. Lātūkefu, "The Place of Tradition in Modernization: An Islander's View," *Journal of Papua New Guinea Society* 6, no. 2 (1972).
33. Ibid.
34. Constitution, Clause 2, Sub-clause (5), 3.
35. See S. Lātūkefu, "The Modern Elite in Papua New Guinea," in *Education and Social Stratification in Papua New Guinea*, edited by M. Bray and P. Smith (Melbourne, 1985).
36. Lātūkefu, "The Place of Tradition."
37. J. W. Davidson, *Samoa mo Samoa* (Melbourne, 1967), 36.
38. Ibid., 37.
39. See R. Sinclair, "Samoans in Papua," in *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia*, edited by R. Crocombe and M. Crocombe (Suva, 1982), 36.
40. Ibid.
41. One leading missionary early in this century wrote, "I am convinced that mission work among savage people, if it is to succeed, must be on industrial lines" (J. F. Goldie, "The Solomon Islands," in *A Century in the Pacific*, edited by J. Colwell [Sydney, 1966], 583).
42. J. F. Goldie, the first Methodist missionary in the Solomon Islands, declared "that the Gospel of Christ is not merely a way of escape from some future hell for that mysterious entity called the soul, but it is God's message declaring Salvation embracing the whole man—body, mind and spirit—here and now" (quoted in C. T. J. Luxton, *Isles of Solomon* (Auckland, 1955), 161).
43. Goldie, in a hard-hitting criticism of the older approach to missionary work, wrote that "the most objectionable creature in the Pacific today, with the exception of the white beach-combers, . . . is the religious loafer. The loafer is at all times objectionable, but the half-civilized native who loves to strut round quoting passages of the Bible, singing hymns, and shaking hands on the slightest provocation, but who has learned nothing of industry, honesty, or cleanliness, is the most objectionable of all. He is a by-product of Christian missions. He has been taught a Christian creed divorced from Christian conduct. He is to be pitied more than blamed" (Goldie, "The Solomon Islands," 583).
44. See A. R. Tippet, *Solomon Islands Christianity* (London, 1967).
45. Ibid., 67; see also S. Lātūkefu, "The Methodist Mission and Modernization in the Solomon Islands," in *The History of Melanesia*, edited by K. S. Inglis (Canberra, 1969), 311–312.

46. Some missions are now in the process of returning some plantations to the traditional landowners.

47. In Tonga, young women who served as house girls to missionaries were very much sought after as wives because of the skills they had learned in housekeeping from missionary wives. When I visited former Methodist mission villages in Papua New Guinea for research in the 1970s, I was struck by the degree of loyalty and affection expressed by elderly men and women toward their ex-missionary teachers from Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa, claiming that they had owed so much in their lives to these people.

48. Most of today's Papua New Guinean leaders grew up in families with very strong missionary backgrounds. Many received their education in mission schools, and some, such as Father John Momis, continue to maintain strong involvement with their respective churches today. Speaking before the United Nations General Assembly in October 1984, the then Papua New Guinea Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Honorable Rabbie L. Namaliu, said that the people of Papua New Guinea "were—mercifully—spared the worst excesses of colonialism" elsewhere (R. L. Namaliu, "Address . . . to the Thirty-ninth Session of the United Nations General Assembly," October 1984, pp. 15–16).

49. Constitution, Section 45, 34.

MAIN TRENDS IN THE USSR
IN THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY
OF PACIFIC ISLANDS PEOPLES, 1961-1986,
WITH A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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In 1961 I presented to the 10th Pacific Science Congress a paper that summed up some of the results of the ethnographic study in the USSR of the Pacific Islands peoples. The paper was published in Russian, English, and French (172). Now that a quarter of a century has passed, it is worthwhile to consider how this research developed further.

In the 1961-1986 period, study in the Soviet Union of the Pacific Islands peoples substantially intensified, developing greater versatility and reaching a higher stage. According to incomplete data, more than four hundred relevant publications made their appearance in the Soviet Union during this period. Naturally, the present paper is too brief to list all these publications (including individually authored and corporate monographs, research articles and reviews, prefaces and commentaries to Russian translations of books by foreign scientists and travelers, popular and reference works, and so on). I have decided, however, not to confine myself to a review of the main lines of pertinent research and will name a considerable proportion of these publications in the appended bibliographical list with a view to making them known to my colleagues abroad.

This paper includes references to publications by more than sixty authors. Among them are ethnooceanists (specialists in the ethnography of the Pacific Islands peoples); although they comprise a distinct minority, they have authored the majority of the said publications. Problems pertaining to the study of the Pacific Islands peoples have also been developed by ethnographers whose basic research interests are not connected with Oceania, including general ethnographers and specialists in other disciplines—physical anthropologists, demographers, sociologists, historians, linguists, and so on. Such a wide-ranging specialization of the authors, just as the increasingly versatile, interdisciplinary approach to the study of the Pacific Islands peoples, stems not only from the extremely wide scope of the problems posed by their study and not only from the tendency toward the general integration of scientific knowledge (a characteristic of our time), but also from the specific features of ethnographic science as understood in the Soviet Union in the last few decades.

According to this understanding, ethnography is a social science that studies peoples-ethnoses and other ethnic entities, their cultural and historical relations, and especially their traditional cultures, which determine their ethnic make-up. Whereas territorially, ethnography embraces all the peoples of the world, chronologically, its scope extends from early times to our days. An ethnos is a dynamic system. Therefore one of the main tasks facing ethnography is the study of the changes of the characteristic features of ethnoses with time, that is, of ethnic processes beginning from ethnogeny and the early stages of ethnic history and up to the present-day shifts in the fundamental characteristics of these systems (158; 159).*

Being an integral branch of knowledge with an exceedingly wide spectrum of problems subject to research, ethnography solves many problems facing it in the course of interaction with other fields of science. For instance, problems of ethnogeny are evolved jointly with physical anthropology, archaeology, and linguistics; the study of economic activity and social organization is linked with the economic sciences and sociology; migrations and the numerical strength of peoples are studied in collaboration with demography, and so on. It is not an accident that considerable development in the Soviet Union has been registered by "borderline" research disciplines, which arose at the

*Concerning the relationship between ethnography and cultural/social anthropology see 159, pt. 2, ch. 2.

boundaries of ethnography with other sciences, such as ethnic anthropology and ethnoecology. These tendencies in the development of Soviet science have exercised an inevitable impact on the approach to the study of the Pacific Islands peoples. It is characteristic that not only scientists working in related fields have been ever more intensively "invading" the subject matter of ethnography, but also that ethnooceanists at times go beyond its confines, for instance, in historical-ethnographic research or in the study of certain aspects of present-day socioeconomic development.

The interdisciplinary approach and research coordination are furthered by annual conferences studying Australia and Oceania, which have been held in Moscow beginning in 1968. Along with ethnographers, these attract historians, sociologists, economists, linguists, and specialists in other humanities. Furthermore, since 1979, Leningrad has been the venue of somewhat more specialized Maclay commemorative readings, so called in honor of N. N. Miklouho-Maclay (1846-1888), a distinguished Russian traveler and Pacific Islands explorer whose name has been given to the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The interdisciplinary approach to the study of the problems in question is not limited to the social sciences and the humanities. Continuing to work in such customary "borderland" areas as ethnobotany (for example, see 42), Soviet ethnographers have launched fruitful cooperative activities with specialists in a number of natural sciences. For instance, the joint work of an ethnooceanist with a researcher of the processes of air and water circulation in the Pacific basin has led to a substantial specification of the scientific conceptions about navigational conditions on the sea routes leading to Polynesia (in the context of a discussion about the settling of Polynesia) and to a refutation of relevant erroneous views (145; 180). Another pertinent example is the research carried out by a group of Soviet geologists on Easter Island, which has helped to clear up some puzzles of this "island of mysteries" and to reinterpret debatable questions about the history of its population and of the development of its distinctive culture (86; 87). Soviet ethnooceanists strive to broaden their cooperation with natural scientists.

For several decades Soviet ethnographers had been denied the opportunity to conduct field research in the Pacific Islands. Therefore their participation in two expeditions carried out aboard the research vessel *Dmitriy Mendeleev* has become a landmark in the development of the Soviet ethnographic investigations in this area of the world. In the course of these expeditions, held in 1971 and 1977, the ethnographers

visited many Pacific islands. But of particularly vital importance were their two stays in Bongu village (on the northeast coast of New Guinea), the scene of the research conducted by N. N. Miklouho-Maclay a hundred years ago. On the basis, or with the extensive use, of the materials collected during these expeditions participants jointly wrote a monograph *On the Maclay Coast* (97), several other books, and many articles (see, for instance, 9; 10; 20; 21; 26; 74; 94; 95; 102; 112; 113; 132; 148; 165; 174; 176). Regrettably, these two expeditions have had no sequels, so far. Soviet ethnooceanists strive to compensate for the shortage of field materials by meticulous study and critical analysis of all sources within their reach. These include museum ethnographic collections, writings by navigators and other travelers who visited the Pacific Islands at the early stages of contact between their inhabitants and the Europeans, works by various explorers of the South Seas islands, the publications of folklore texts, "oral histories" and historical manuscripts written by islanders themselves, and so on.

In the 1961–1986 period Soviet specialists in the Pacific Islands peoples studied practically all the main problems that enter into the subject matter of ethnography. For instance, considerable attention was given to the origin of these peoples and to the history of the settling of the Pacific Islands. Alongside survey publications concerned with problems of the ethnogeny of the peoples of Oceania and its subregions (47; 105; 106; 111, ch. 1), research appeared on the origins of the populations of individual islands and archipelagoes (15; 27; 28; 70; 76; etc.). Of particular interest were problems of the ethnogeny and ancient migrations of the Polynesians. In the 1960s Soviet scientists put forward certain comparatively new ideas, which were developed in subsequent researches (145). In addition to works treating ethnogenic problems in integral terms, on the basis of the use and comparison of the data of various scholarly disciplines Soviet ethnographers published works in which these problems were considered predominantly on materials pertaining to one branch of science. This applies, for instance, to articles about the origin and migrations of the Polynesians according to data of linguistics (12) and physical anthropology (123; 124). A note should also be made of a series of works on the craniology of the Papuans of New Guinea and their position in racial systematics. Along with data derived from scientific literature, the author makes use of the results of the study of craniums collected by nineteenth-century Russian travelers and explorers (2; 3; 4; 156). Additional material for the solution of problems posed by the ethnogeny of the Pacific Islands peoples is yielded by odontological and serological studies (1; 13; 139; 154; 155). For the same purpose use is made of the results of folklore studies and of the investigation of kin-

ship systems (28; 88; 96; etc.). Some of the newly published works represent inquiries into ethnogenic and ethnocultural contacts in the transitional zone between the Pacific Islands and Southeast Asia (43) and consider the problem of ancient contacts between the peoples of Polynesia and South America (53).

Soviet ethnooceanists exhibit a keen interest in traditional economy and material culture. These questions are discussed not only in specialized works, but also in more general research publications as well as in articles devoted to other aspects of the culture and everyday life of the South Seas islanders (see, for instance, 7; 16; 26; 97; 146; 175; 179). Special attention is given to the analysis of the specific features of the development of productive forces and their influence on social relations.

In the period under review progress was made by the study of traditional Pacific Islands agriculture and the related problems of agroethnography. One of the works concerned with the genesis of agriculture in this region embodies an attempt to explain why the culture of rice did not penetrate into the Pacific Islands (with the exception of Guam) before contact with the Europeans (42). A special study has been made of the traditional economy of the Bainings of New Britain, based on primitive slash-and-burn agriculture in the conditions of seminomadism (70). Another publication deals with the economic-cultural type of wild sago gatherers widespread in New Guinea. They draw sustenance from a highly productive food-gathering economy on the verge of a transition to the food-producing type (133).

One of the key directions of relevant research is the study of the regularities governing the development of the communal clan system and of the formation of classes and statehood based on materials of concrete ethnic entities of the Pacific Islands. Naturally, Soviet ethnographers are aware that general regularities of social development exist "in a pure form" only in textbooks. Operating in multiform conditions, they "imbibe" the specific features of the subjects of historical action as well as of the social and natural environment. This fusion of general sociological regularities and of the exceedingly diverse situations in which they manifest themselves reflects a dialectical notion of the unity and multiformity of historical development. Within the framework of this approach, Soviet ethnooceanists identify in the study of traditional Oceanic societies certain stages in the development and disintegration of the communal clan system as well as different forms and stages of the transition from preclass to class society, and trace the emergence of chiefdoms and (in the cases of Hawaii, Tonga, and Tahiti) the formation of early class states.

In the period under consideration, the attention of the Soviet ethno-

oceanists was primarily attracted by the social media that were found, as it were, at the opposite ends of the scale of development of the Oceanic social forms—the comparatively egalitarian societies of New Guinea and the stratified societies of Polynesia. A number of works contain detailed analyses of different variants of the late clan social organization characteristic of the majority of the peoples of New Guinea, such of its major institutions as the community, family, and clan; the formation of the institution of leadership, especially the status of “big men”; the social functions of initiation rites; and so on (7; 16; 17; 22; 23; 70; 97; etc.). In the study of Polynesian societies, parallel with a survey of their inherent localized forms of social organization and of the descent groups, emphasis was placed on inquiry into the processes of social and property differentiation, of the formation and isolation of social strata, and of the development of the institution of hereditary chiefs. The ethnographers analyzed the specific socioorganizational features of the chiefdoms and the ways whereby they become early class states (26; 30; 52; 71; 121; 143; 175; 179). These works contain different assessments of the level of socioeconomic development of Polynesian societies directly before their first contacts with the Europeans and different interpretations of certain specific features of their social structure. One of the recently published articles represents an attempt to consider traditional Tongan society as a multidimensional system and to identify two basic types of social rank in the discussion of its hierarchical structure (83). The ethnooceanists also gave attention to various forms of men’s societies—men’s houses, characteristic of New Guinea, secret men’s societies and graded societies of northwest and central Melanesia, and the Areoi society of eastern Polynesia (6; 10; 46). On the basis of the Oceanic ethnographic material, the splitting of the culture of ethnos with the development of social differentiation was studied. The ethnographers put forward the idea that stratified preclass societies had formed two subcultures (of the ruling stratum and the rank-and-file community members) (30; 133).

As part of the study of traditional social organization, Soviet ethnooceanists investigate such specific areas of human contacts as kinship. The period under review brought the publication of works dealing with the kinship systems of a number of peoples of Polynesia and Melanesia, including New Guinea. Alongside data taken from scientific literature, use was made of the authors’ own recordings of kinship terminologies made in Bongu village (New Guinea), on Eromanga island, and on Funafuti atoll. The analysis of the concrete kinship systems was used, in the first place, for specifying the ideas pertaining to crucial elements of

social organization and, as said earlier, in ethnogenic studies. Furthermore, the authors proceeded from Oceanic material in discussing certain questions of the origin of classificatory kinship systems—in particular, the role of adoption in this process and the influence of crisis demographic situations on the formation of the “Hawaiian type” systems. The authors also debated such general theoretical questions as the essence of the phenomenon of kinship, the relationship of the biological and the social in this phenomenon, and so on (7; 16; 24; 26; 30; 51; 82; 88; 91; 97; 165).

Religious beliefs and rituals offer vast material for the study of the early forms of religion and of the reflection of social relations in it. In the 1961–1986 period the development of these problems continued. In addition to a general review of the religions of the Pacific Islands peoples, articles were published about the Polynesian pantheon, traces of shamanism in Polynesian folklore, ritual objects on Easter Island, the reflection of the natural environment in the religious beliefs of the Melanesians, ritual head-hunting, the yam cult in New Guinea, and other subjects (22; 38; 39; 40; 54; 61; 64; 68; 104; 136; 140). Soviet scholars study religious beliefs and rituals in the awareness of their major importance in the life of traditional Pacific Islands societies. But they are not inclined to overestimate this factor and continue to research the positive knowledge accumulated by the South Seas islanders before their contacts with the Europeans (see, for instance, 49; 138, ch. 1; 143, ch. 1).

Considerable development in this quarter-century period was recorded in the Soviet Union by the study of folklore. Above all are two fundamental publications of folklore texts—*Fairy Tales and Myths of the Pacific Islands* (135) and *Myths, Traditions, and Legends of Easter Island* (96). Both books include research articles and detailed commentaries. A recently published monograph surveys the mythology, rituals, and songs and musical folklore of New Guinea, considering them as forming a syncretic unity (118). Another book and several articles are devoted to the songs and musical folklore of both individual South Seas islands and of the entire Pacific Island world. These publications are partly based on tape recordings made in 1971 during the expedition aboard the *Dmitriy Mendeleev* (113; 115; 116; 117; 119; 169). A group of articles is concerned with the folklore of Easter Island, the folkloric texts being used as a source for the reconstruction of the history and culture of this island (47; 48; 52; 54; 60; 76; 161; etc.). One of the works traces the contacts between the young literatures of the Pacific Islands and folklore and traditional culture in general (103). Several works

treat the distinctive fine arts of the peoples of this region (55; 69; 72; 81; etc.).

Easter Island (Rapanui) is the only place in Oceania where writing (*kohau rongorongo*) antedated contact with Europeans. Since the end of the nineteenth century many researchers have been trying to read the puzzling local script carved on wooden tablets. Among them were scholars whose work I discussed in my previous survey (172). In the 1961–1986 period they continued their planned, systematic research of *kohau rongorongo*. Considerable successes were achieved in the analysis of this writing system, cogent arguments were put forward in favor of the local origin of *kohau rongorongo*, interesting hypotheses regarding the content of the texts under study were formulated, and variant readings of individual fragments were advanced. But the problem of decipherment as a whole has not yet been solved. The difficulties of decipherment are compounded by the small number of preserved texts and by the fact that the recordings must have been made in the ancient Rapanui language, which is different from the modern. Therefore the Soviet scholars engaged in the decipherment of these inscriptions conduct their research on a broad front, meticulously studying the history and traditional culture of Easter Island, analyzing all available folklore texts and all attempts to “read” *kohau rongorongo* by local people, and reconstructing the specific features of the Rapanui language at different stages of its history (25; 28; 50; 57; 58; 160; 162). Proceeding from the results of the positional-statistical analysis of *kohau rongorongo* texts and of their computer processing, the majority of Soviet specialists—associates of the group of Ethnic Semiotics of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences—assume that Rapanui inscriptions were made at the early stage of the formation of hieroglyphic writing (56; 57; 58; 77; 78). At the same time, it was recently suggested that hieroglyphs in *kohau rongorongo* had been combined with signs that had functioned as mnemonic devices (27).

One of the major lines of investigation being carried out by Soviet ethnooceanists and researchers working in related fields is the study of the social and cultural changes generated by contacts with the bearers of Western civilization and determined by colonialism. In the years 1961–1986 a large number of books and articles were published devoted to various stages of social and cultural change in the Hawaiian Islands, Samoa, Tonga, New Zealand, Fiji, New Caledonia, Guam, and some areas of New Guinea (5; 8; 33; 84; 93; 97; 99; 101; 143; 146; 175; 176; 179). Special studies consider changes in the material culture, folklore, and some other aspects of the traditional pattern of life. The function-

ing of the institution of "big men" and the use of shell money in modern Melanesia were considered (18; 29; 74; 113; 115, ch. 4; 169). Several works analyzed the role of missionaries in social and cultural changes, the connection between missionary work and European and American colonialism, and the specific features of the syncretic religions and rituals that arose in contact situations (11; 35; 36; 141; 146; etc.). Another facet of research was the study of ethnocultural and other aspects of the development of education in this region (94; 97; 98, ch. 4; 144; 147).

In keeping with the general theory of ethnos, on the basis of Oceanic material the notion of "ethnic situation" has recently been developed. By this notion is meant the ethnic composition of the population of a certain country or region and the processes and factors variously influencing this composition and causing it to change. Among such processes and factors are the types of the ethnic entities that populate an area, the degree of development of ethnic self-awareness, ethnic processes (consolidation, assimilation, interethnic integration, separation, and so on), the ethnic aspects of demographic and migratory processes, national-linguistic problems, policies on the nationalities question, and interethnic relations. A special, recently published monograph represents a generalized study of the present ethnic situation in the Pacific Islands (111). These problems were also developed in a large number of books and articles that discussed individual aspects of the ethnic situation in the Pacific Islands (14, ch. 8; 16, ch. 2; 41; 90; 98; 105; 106; 108; 109; 167; 168). On some of these questions different points of view were expressed. For instance, Soviet researchers put forward different views with regard to the potential of the Neo-Melanesian language (Tok Pisin) and its prospects for becoming the national language of Papua New Guinea (45; 110).

Giving central attention to the study of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific Islands, Soviet ethnooceanists included within the scope of their research interests the non-indigenous population of this region. The most intensive study was made of such major groups as the Indians of Fiji and the French of New Caledonia. An article about the Chinese living in the Pacific Islands was published (44; 79; 92; 105; 106; 107; 111; 122).

Soviet ethnographers participate in the interdisciplinary study of certain trends in the present-day socioeconomic development of the Pacific Islands peoples. For instance, a theoretical analysis was carried out of the basic types of traditional communal structure and of ways of changing their nature and of their disintegration under the impact of the money-commodity economy and other forms of Westernization. On this

basis were expressed considerations about the possibilities of, and prospects for, the cooperative movement in the Pacific Islands (157). One of the recently published books reviews present-day ethnonational and sociopolitical processes in Papua New Guinea (95). Another work is concerned with the ethnosocial aspects of the development of interstate cooperation and regional integration in the Pacific Islands (100). A critical analysis was made of the conception of the "Pacific Way" and its subregional and insular variants ("Melanesian Way," "faaSamoa," etc.). In the opinion of Soviet researchers, such conceptions largely idealize the social relations and systems of values that existed in traditional societies and objectively camouflage developing capitalist relations, creating illusions of "national unity" (98).

A valuable aid in the study of the material world of the traditional cultures of the South Seas peoples is the rich Oceanic collections of the Leningrad Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Russian abbreviation: MAE) of the USSR Academy of Sciences—one of the biggest depositories of such treasures in the world. The study and publication of these collections form an important aspect of the research of Soviet specialists on the Pacific Islands peoples. Alongside a general survey of MAE's Oceanic stocks (130), the period in question saw the publication of collections brought from the Society Islands, the Marquesas, Samoa, Tonga, and New Zealand (32; 59; 62; 125; 127). Another type is the publication of objects from the MAE collections representing a specific element of traditional culture—pottery, tapas, musical instruments, and one type of ritual sculpture (85; 114; 129; 136). Collections delivered by individual enthusiasts were published (73; 128). Of particular interest are articles about an MAE collection received from fellow travelers of famous Captain Cook in 1779 (75; 126). Archival searches have made it possible to specify the composition of this collection and to effect a more substantiated attribution of some items (171). So far, the ethnographic collections brought back by participants in the two *Dmitriy Mendeleev* expeditions have been published only in part (20; 21).

Soviet ethnooceanists make an intensive study of works by Russian circumnavigators of the first half of the nineteenth century (which contain unique material pertaining to the ethnography of these peoples) and provide new editions of these works with research articles and commentaries. At the same time, scholars continue the archival search for unknown manuscripts left behind by these navigators. Some of the discovered manuscripts have already been put into research circulation (131; 175; 179).

An exceedingly fruitful source of material used by specialists is the

diaries, travel reports, and articles of N. N. Miklouho-Maclay—the first European to land on the northeast coast of New Guinea. Arriving in 1871, this distinguished Russian explorer spent a total of almost three years there, visiting the southeast and western shores of this colossal island and many other islands and archipelagoes of Oceania. Soviet ethnographers not only make extensive use of his materials in their research, but also continue to devote special articles to various aspects of his scientific heritage (19; 34; 69; 119; etc.). Furthermore, in the period under review several books and articles were published outlining the lifepath of this eminent scientist and humanist and his noble advocacy of the Pacific islanders (63; 80; 120; 142; 149; 150; 151; 152; 170; 177; 178; etc.). After major preparatory efforts in the years 1950–1954, the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences published a five-volume collection of his works, furnished with photographs of his drawings and ethnographic collections, articles about his life and endeavor, and detailed commentaries. But even this fundamental publication did not bear an exhaustive character. In the last three decades, both in the USSR and abroad, many additional manuscripts and drawings of Miklouho-Maclay and other materials pertaining to his life and activities have been found. In particular, I have discovered interesting pertinent materials in archives and libraries of Australia, Britain, France, and the German Democratic Republic. An expanded edition of the works by this scientist, which will include all these finds, is currently in preparation.

Soviet ethnooceanists are taking a major interest in researches pertaining to the history and culture of these peoples that are in progress in other countries. The journal *Sovetskaya etnografiya* readily publishes articles concerned with these questions by our foreign colleagues. In turn, as can be seen from the bibliography that follows, works by Soviet ethnooceanists are included in research publications that appear outside the USSR. An important role in furthering international scientific cooperation, including in the study of the Pacific Islands peoples, is played by Congresses and Inter-Congresses of the Pacific Science Association. Soviet ethnooceanists were happy to receive a large group of specialists in the Pacific Islands peoples who arrived at the 14th Pacific Science Congress held in Khabarovsk in 1979.

In my opinion, a promising form of cooperation is ethnographic exhibitions. For instance, a major success in many Soviet cities fell to the lot of the exhibition "Ethnography and Art of Oceania," composed of collections of the N. Michoutouchkine-A. Pilioko Foundation (Republic of Vanuatu). In connection with this exhibition a research catalogue,

guidebooks, and several articles were published (65; 66; 67). And quite recently, in January-March 1987, in Helsinki, the capital of Finland, was held a Soviet exhibition of cultural treasures from the Pacific Islands, which the Finnish called "Travel to Oceania." This exhibition, which aroused major interest in Finland, embraced almost six hundred showpieces from the Leningrad Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography. The Finnish organizers published a richly illustrated catalogue with facing texts in English and Finnish written by a group of Soviet specialists (166). Timed to coincide with the opening of the exhibition was a symposium, "History and Culture in the Pacific," which attracted researchers from eight countries—the USSR, Finland, Australia, New Zealand, the USA, Britain, Italy, and Denmark.

Soviet ethnooceanists champion further contacts with their colleagues abroad, including with scientists of newly independent states of Oceania. Such cooperation may contribute not only to the progress of science, but also to mutual understanding between the peoples, so vital in our nuclear age.

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SE *Sovetskaya etnografiya* (Moscow).

Sb.MAE. *Sbornik Museya antropologii i etnografii*. Leningrad: Nauka.

[The Russian transliteration system used in this article varies from that of the Library of Congress and others most commonly used in the West. —ED.]

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EDITOR'S FORUM

A NOTE ON CARGO CULTS AND CULTURAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF CHANGE

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In a work now more than twenty years old, Levi-Strauss argues that totemism, as anthropologists then conceived of it, does not really exist. He likens totemism to hysteria: "Totemism is like hysteria, in that once we are persuaded to doubt that it is possible arbitrarily to isolate certain phenomena and to group them together as diagnostic signs of an illness, or of an objective institution, the symptoms themselves vanish or appear refractory to any unifying interpretation" (Levi-Strauss 1963:1). He convincingly argues that analysts failed to understand totemism because they abstracted it from its appropriate context and treated it as a thing unto itself, thereby isolating it from similar and related phenomena. "The totemic illusion is thus the result . . . of a distortion of a semantic field to which belong phenomena of the same type. Certain aspects of this field have been singled out at the expense of others, giving them an originality and a strangeness which they do not really possess; for they are made to appear mysterious by the very fact of abstracting them from the system of which, as transformations, they formed an integral part" (ibid.:17-18).

What I want to suggest here is that, similarly, cargo cults do not exist, or at least their symptoms vanish when we start to doubt that we can arbitrarily extract a few features from context and label them an institution. For that is what many anthropologists have been doing: isolat-

ing and classifying these phenomena as if they constituted an objective, separate institution, category, or class of events—drawing relatively arbitrary lines and thereby “distorting the semantic field,” a process Levi-Strauss claims so hindered our understanding of totemism as I suggest it hinders our comprehension of cargo cults.¹ My goal in this brief note is simply to identify a different and probably complementary perspective: that of considering cargo cults in the context of a different semantic field. I argue that analyzing how cargo cults interpenetrate with a people’s ideological or cultural construction of change yields more understanding than treating the cults as a manifestation of some cross-cultural category such as millenarian movements. As totemism did not exist, being merely an example of how people classify the world around them, cargo cults too do not exist, being merely an example of how people conceptualize and experience change in the world.

We must begin this expansion of understanding of cargo cults by lessening our concern with constructing a typology of millenarian movements in general. Analysis cannot begin with the assumption that the significant aspects of these movements are the same cross-culturally. They do appear to be similar, but are the similarities the seminal features of interest? Geertz reminds us that “the fact that a phenomenon is general does not mean that the particular occasions of its appearance may not be various, as the example of inflation only too well demonstrates” (1963:62). Setting the analysis of cargo cults in the context of a global category of millenarian movements distracts our attention away from the sociocultural context in which they occur. We cannot *assume* a similar cause and a similar meaning for every event that has been labeled a millenarian movement.

What I am suggesting is that we draw conceptual and analytical lines differently, or at least dim our old categories temporarily to reveal what other shapes and forms emerge. This process must begin by examining the cultural assumptions and frameworks that structure, inform, and give meaning to these so-called cults as well as *other*, similar beliefs and behaviors. In trying to understand cargo cults as religious and millenarian activity, it has been easy to neglect to see how the activities contingent in them are actually ones that occur in other cultural contexts. The beliefs and assumptions that underlie the cargo activity also undergird a variety of other arenas of social action and realms in which cultural meaning is constructed and generated. When the analytical lines are redrawn in this way, “cargo cults” as a distinct category do cease to exist—at least the category ceases to exist exactly as it did before—and far more meaningful arrangements of phenomena are left for analysis.

A symptom that something is amiss is the frequent inability to discern whether a cargo cult is taking place or not. Generating a definition of cargo cult is not difficult, but deciding if actual phenomena merit inclusion in the category is. Forget for the moment that because we are using heuristic distinctions as if they were real, we have difficulty distinguishing cargo cults, cargo behavior, cargo beliefs, and cargo thinking; focus only on organized social movements. Is "X" a cargo cult or isn't it? Why is it so difficult to be certain sometimes? For example, Maher (1961, 1984) presents fascinating data on the Tommy Kabu movement in the Purari River delta. One of the more interesting things about this movement is that administration officials disagreed about what it was. Senior administrators found little threatening about or wrong with the movement and were perplexed by the attitude of patrol officers in the field who were hostile to the activities and thought them dangerous; those removed from the scene saw economic development activities, those nearby perceived cargo cults (Maher 1984:218).² Was the Paliau movement on Manus a radical social reform movement, a political movement, or a cargo cult (Mead 1956; Schwartz 1962)? Was Yali a cargo cult leader or not (Lawrence 1964)? Errington (1974) clearly labels the Kaun movement on Karavar a cargo cult, but the leaders of that movement called it "business" and likened it to economic development projects. What are we to make of such a discrepancy? If "they" are defining business differently than the usual Western definition, what does their definition include and how does it compound Western notions of business and cargo cult? Where does development project stop and cargo cult begin? I discuss this in some detail below; the point I want to stress here is simply that it is difficult to distinguish between these phenomena precisely because cargo cults are not an analytically separable category but merely one manifestation of a particular way of constructing the world, acting in it, and deriving meaning from it.

A variety of factors enter into this process: conceptions of power, epistemology and knowledge,³ the construction of order, the concept of person, and notions of integrity may all be relevant.⁴ What I would like to focus on here, however, is a single factor that must be considered, a segment of ideology that underlies these so-called cargo cults as well as economic development, political activity, religious conversion, myth and cosmos, and ritual activity. That factor is how a people conceptualizes the nature of change and ways in which change can be effected as well as affected. So-called cargo cults are, after all, among other things, about change. People are trying to effect change, and if we want to understand what is happening we must include an examination of their

cultural assumptions about change.⁵ Many of the factors that anthropologists have argued play a part in the generation of cargo cults—such as relative deprivation, the political oppression of colonialism, the failure of exchange systems—are really only subsidiary elements that participate in the desire for and motivation to change. They are reasons why people desire alternatives, but conceptions of change structure how they go about change and what they expect from it.

In another paper (McDowell 1985), I present data about how the people of Bun conceptualize change and can only summarize the argument here. The Bun have what Gellner (1964) labels an episodic (or neo-episodic) view of time, change, and history as opposed to an evolutionary one (see also Errington 1974 for an initial delineation of this conception of change on Karavar). They do not conceive of the past as a series of interconnected events in a cause-and-effect chain. For them there is no gradual, cumulative, evolutionary change; change is always dramatic, total, and complete. Discontinuity is a requirement of and for change. It is as if all change were executed only on the model of a rite of passage, with an abrupt transition or liminal period. Indeed, the relationship between change in general and the changes effected in rites of passage is more than analogous or structurally isomorphic: the rituals are but one kind of change that follows the general pattern or model. There must be discontinuity for a boy to become a man, discontinuity for the unmarried to become the married, and so on. Often, for example, there must be a liminal period of “no rules” before “new rules” (Burridge 1969:165–166). Myths, too, reveal that change occurs only through discontinuity: an ancestor or culture hero participates in events that radically alter the nature of society and the cosmos.⁶

This episodic conception of history and change is not restricted to the past but provides a model for change in the future as well: coming change must also be total, drastic, and radical. This view admits of no gradual accumulation or loss of ideas or customs, only pervasive, comprehensive transformation. The Bun cannot identify the exact nature of future change nor the details of the world to come, but they are able to perceive that a new order, totally unlike anything they have known, is imminent (McDowell 1985:33).

The Bun conception of change—both past and future—affects social behavior and cultural meaning in a variety of ways. Because people perceive change to be of this nature, they have deep and profound expectations about how change will come about. They expect dramatic revolutions; if one thing changes, everything will change—they only need to find the key(s) for controlling and directing the change, pre-

venting or effecting it. This kind of expectation pervades much of what the villagers do, feel, and think. It is not new: I suspect that such a conception of change is old (and probably a relatively accurate view of Bun history; see also Scaglione 1983). What is new in this century are all of the indications that a revolution is about to occur again, as it had done in the past. What is new are all of the visions about possibilities for the future. What is new is the awareness that the old way needs changing if people are to acquire moral equity—Burridge's integrity (1969)—once again. So, people set about to change their worlds. And they do it as they have always done it: through work and through ritual, not necessarily separate indigenous categories (see also Counts 1971). Either the change is immanent and people attempt to control what is coming, or they want to cause the change and initiate a new world for themselves.

An array of activities is informed by these expectations in Bun (McDowell 1985). People tell a myth of an ancestress who was unfairly drummed out of her home and who wandered until she came upon a new land (America) where she created wealth and lived the easy life. When she forgives those who spurned her and returns to Papua New Guinea, all will change and the people will again have wealth and moral equity. So the myth goes.

When the first person to leave the village for schooling returned (without finishing), he began a youth club. Many villagers, especially older ones, believed that this might be the portent of radical change because it was a new idea, a new entity. Some were fearful that the changes would be predominantly negative ones, accompanied by chaos; a rumor went around among the women, for example, that they would be forced into prostitution by the club. Others, however, were far more hopeful about the impending transformation and thought that it would be the fulfillment of their dreams of wealth and full humanity. No one knew for certain which direction the change would take, but most knew that the change was coming (McDowell 1985).

The uncertainty, of course, is one of the problems. Will change be for the better? The transition itself is chaos—liminality is frightening—what will be on the other side? When people are confronted with an impending millennium and have no control over its arrival and nature, are powerless to influence it, they are, to say the least, justifiably anxious. On the eve of Independence, for example, the Bun believed that radical change was immanent. The nature of the change was unknown; earthquakes, heaven on earth, and invasions by Indonesian soldiers were all mentioned as possibilities for the certain-to-arrive cataclysmic event. Peoples' behavior was affected by their belief about coming

events; marriages were hurriedly arranged so that children would be settled and safe, and ambitious people or those who had been plagued by overdue debts worked with some fervor to make prestations and payments before Independence arrived.

Bun economic activities, particularly development projects, are infused with these conceptions of change as well. In that earlier paper I wrote that

the expectation of radical, and in this case very positive, change motivates them to plant enthusiastically any new crop that makes its way into the region in the hope that this particular one will revolutionize the economic bases of their lives and allow them to attain at least material equality with Europeans. But when the harvest comes in and the crop is sold, the small return is always a disappointment. And when the activity fails to trigger the drastic changes anticipated, when it fails to initiate a new time, enthusiasm wanes and the crop is tended sporadically if at all. (McDowell 1985:34)

This conception of change, then, pervades and penetrates a whole range of activities in Bun. If we insist on making arbitrary analytical distinctions between such realms as economic behavior and club behavior, or political expectations and cargo thinking, then we will fail to understand Bun meaning and experience.

A conception of change and history similar to the one that I have sketched here is not uncommon in Melanesia. In an important earlier article, Errington (1974) describes the Karavar as having just such a view. Josephides says that the Boroi of Madang Province "treat transition as something sudden and dramatic . . . and . . . some idea of reversal has always coloured the Boroi perception of change" (1984:25). Tuzin (personal communication) describes Ilahita Arapesh historiography as catastrophic. In a fascinating article, Burman begins with "Bourdieu's proposition that temporal constructs play an active role in structuring practical action" (1981:251). He goes on to analyze Simbo temporal concepts and how these underlying notions relate to social hierarchy, thus paralleling the notion that concepts of time and change in Bun affect a variety of "practical actions." Furthermore, the Simbo have an episodic view which profoundly affects their construction of change (*ibid.*:263).

Even a cursory perusal of the literature with these ideas in mind reveals that considerable insight can be achieved if so-called cargo cults

are examined within different contextual fields, particularly within the context of indigenous notions of change. I want to present a few ethnographic examples⁷ merely to illustrate that drawing arbitrary lines that separate cargo cults from other aspects of sociocultural life and experience inhibits our understanding of the source and meaning of these cults *as well as* those other aspects of behavior and ideology from which the cults are separated.

The first arbitrary line to fade is that which separates cargo cult from Christianity. The possibility that cargo-like thinking played a role in at least some of the conversions to Christianity in Melanesia cannot be doubted, and evidence is now appearing that many similar issues are central in religious revivals and the establishment of fundamentalist Christian groups in Papua New Guinea. In an article on revival movements in the southern highlands, Robin (1982) strives to distinguish cargo cults from revival movements but, not surprisingly, is unsuccessful. In an article about a particular fundamentalist group, Wetherell and Carr-Gregg also cannot disentangle Christian cult from cargo cult, although they attempt to do so:

. . . the ready acceptance of Christian beliefs may have been closely related to "cargo-thinking"—the notion that material benefits could be obtained by mastering the "true knowledge" of the Europeans. "Cargo thinking" alone, however, cannot adequately explain the complete conversion of the Keveri. As well as a desire for material advantages, a number of other factors such as their quest for spiritual improvement and an extension of their social horizons must be taken into account. The search for a better quality of life may have triggered off the "instant" conversion to a belief system which was not, as they perceived it, fundamentally different from their own. (1984:201)

In an important (and unfortunately neglected)⁸ article, David and Dorothy Counts analyze the Kaliai of New Britain very much as I am arguing that we should, within a whole new semantic field. They begin by delineating a conception of change that is very much like Bun's episodic one. They argue that the Kaliai "foresee change, not as a process occurring by degree, but rather as a sudden qualitative transformation that alters fundamental relations [and] . . . they believe that they can foresee such transformations and can, by appropriately changing their activities, prepare themselves to take advantage of, or at least survive,

them" (Counts and Counts 1976:304). They analyze Kaliai expectations and activities in the context of these cultural assumptions about change. They compare two groups, those who followed the "Rule of Money" and those who followed the "Law of the Story." The Story is what we would easily and traditionally label a cargo cult, but the Rule is not as easily categorized. On the surface, followers of it spurned the cargo cult and seem progressive; they invested their energies in development projects, cash cropping, and the formation of economic corporations. But the Counts convincingly argued that because of the shared assumptions about the nature of change, these so-called progressives were not substantially different from their cargo-oriented friends and neighbors. While those who followed the Story awaited the millennium, those who followed the Rule awaited Independence, which was not just a political event but a radical change in the entire social order. The sources and motivations of these two groups were the same:

There seem to be no basic philosophical differences between those who joined the Story and those who did not. The different ways by which they attempted to ensure their survival in the new order, whether by hard work or through ritual action, do not reflect different conceptions of either the nature of that order or the process by which it will be instituted. There is no notion of gradual process. The Story teaches that the new order will come suddenly and totally: the snow will fall and when it melts the millennium will have arrived. Progressives seem to assume that the stroke of the pen marking independence will likewise institute a new order for which they must prepare themselves. (Ibid.:301)

Seemingly diverse behaviors, one clearly labeled cargo cult and probably receiving administrative disapproval, the other easily labeled economic development activities and probably receiving administrative support, really spring from the same assumptions, beliefs, and aspirations (see also Counts 1971, 1972, 1978, 1980).

The literature abounds with examples of the resemblances between cargo activity and economic activity. Often the connection between the two is analyzed simplistically in terms of the material concerns that seem to underlie both, but many authors appreciate the deeper connections between the two. Allen, for example, describes a movement in the Dreikikir area of the East Sepik Province in which people planted and grew rice with great enthusiasm during the 1950s. But marketing diffi-

culties and the small scale of production doomed the project to failure. "There is no doubt whatsoever that people expected to transform their lives with this activity and the disappointment was extreme. The appearance and rapid spread in 1956 of a spectacular millenarian movement, involving mass hysteria, frenetic dancing, marching, the raising of the recently dead and attempts to communicate with those already in the cemetery cannot have been fortuitous" (Allen 1984:19). In the 1970s, after the introduction of coffee and escalation of perceived economic inequalities despite increased business activities, another "cargo cult," the Peli Association, occurred. Again, Allen directly links the business activity with cargo activity. The activities of marketing crops and performing rituals to induce the beginning of the millennium were both classified as "work," and both had the same goal (ibid.:25). Elsewhere, Allen specifically addresses the issue of differential definitions of "business" and correctly argues that *bisnis*

must not be equated with Western concepts of business. *Bisnis* is a broad concept manifested in a number of ways, which includes producing crops for sale, and investing money in enterprises which it is believed will cause large amounts of money to accrue to the individual. . . . When *bisnis* was first introduced people believed it was the form of behaviour which Europeans used to gain access to wealth and power, and because of this they adopted rice growing enthusiastically. . . . When people found rice growing was not bringing about the changes they believed it would, they ceased planting. (Allen, quoted in Scaglion 1983:481)

The line between economic or business activity and cargo activity seems to be a blurred one indeed. Lutkehaus describes how Manam men, after the war, were interested in achieving material and social equity with Europeans, so they began experimenting. "The nature of their experiments took two not unfamiliar forms: *bisnis* ('business') and cargo" (Lutkehaus 1984:17). She aptly remarks on a continuing "fusion" of the two in a local business group as well (ibid.:18). Taylor likens post-war business activity and the enthusiasm people around Wewak had for it to millenarian concerns (1984:1). Roscoe (1983) describes a situation among the Yangoru Boiken in which the patrol officers and administration officials seem to have confused the two and praised the people for what were, to many, essentially cargo activities.

But there are more lines blurred than the one between cargo cult and

economic behavior. Scaglione begins a description of the Abelam with a consideration of concepts of history and change, conceptions very much like the episodic one of Bun. He discusses the Abelam experience of Independence in this context. "In the Maprik area, Independence was accompanied by widespread uncertainty, anxiety, and the development and rebirth of numerous 'cargo cult' millenarian movements" (Scaglione 1983:463). The list of rumors concerning the nature of Independence (*ibid.*:463-464), such as that Jesus would come and kill non-churchgoers or come with the cargo, that bombs would fall, that the spirits would return with cargo, that the Independence people would come and murder indiscriminately, sounds remarkably similar to the ideas that circulated in Bun on the eve of the expected cataclysm as well. Independence and the complex of expectations and behaviors anticipatory to it in some places looked like, felt like, seemed like, a cargo cult (see also Counts and Counts 1976). In the same article, Scaglione brings religious change into this new semantic field as well when he compares cargo cult activities among the Abelam to what he calls their "Jisas" cult. A relatively rapid rise of interest in Christianity seemed related to a belief in the Second Coming and that Christ would bring cargo. The people prayed, gave donations, and performed Christian rituals in order to acquire the cargo (Scaglione 1983:483).

One consequence of attempts to classify cargo cults as millenarian is that the focus has been too much on their millenarian aspects to the detriment of attention to other features that intracultural analysis reveals as more critical. Surely it is recognized now that the authors of the best monographs, such as Burridge's *Mambu* (1960) and Lawrence's *Road Belong Cargo* (1964), do not make this mistake; they analyze these beliefs and behaviors in cultural context and place them within a particular epistemological framework. Wagner comes close when he says that "cargo cult is just a name we give to Melanesian culture when its usually covert interpretations of the world around us emerge into the open" (Wagner, quoted in Counts 1972:374). But even these analysts do not go far enough in the direction of constructing what Levi-Strauss calls a new "semantic field" because they still assume that cargo cult is *the* discrete category for analysis. One of the reasons that, despite his excellent *Mambu* (1960), Burridge's more general work, *New Heaven, New Earth* (1969), falls short is that he argues that "if it is not to become overly ethnocentric, 'anthropology . . . must, initially, use broad concepts capable of containing the varied arrangements offered by different cultures" (7-8). He claims that the book is an essay which "attempts a break-down and re-synthesis of the components of various types of

millenarian activity" (ibid.:2). He is, I think, correct that these movements have to do with redemption, power, and integrity, but his analytical framework would be more powerful if he abandoned the commitment to the broad classification and typology. He trivializes cultural differences by suggesting that the difference between one movement and another is merely a matter of how the prophet can best communicate with his or her followers within a common cultural language (ibid.:31).

The point I am trying to make here is simply that we must rethink our analytical categories if we are to understand experience and behavior glossed as "cargo cult." There is more going on in the association between cargo movements and economic activity than that they both share a concern with material items and the generation and production of wealth. There is more going on in the association between cargo cults and political activity and conceptions of independence than that they both share concern with political equity and power distribution. There is more going on in the association between cargo cults and Christianity than that they both share a concern with religion, spirits, and the comings and goings of supernatural beings. All of these things seem to be similar because they *are* similar: they spring from the same cultural assumptions about, at the very least, the nature of change. This is not to deny that they share other elements and participate in other cultural meanings, such as a concern with power, a desire to control knowledge and the social order, a need to achieve integrity and moral worth. But if we continue arbitrarily to isolate cargo cults from other phenomena of the same kind, we will fail to understand their origin, development, and meaning.

NOTES

This is a revised version of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Philadelphia in 1986. I would like to thank Fred Errington and Deborah Gewertz for their helpful comments on that earlier version. I would also like to thank the three anonymous reviewers for *Pacific Studies* for their careful consideration and constructive comments.

1. As Levi-Strauss was forced to use the word totemism while arguing its nonexistence, I find that I need to use the phrase cargo cult. It would, I think, be a distraction to enclose it in quotes each time it appears, but the reader should supply these quotes mentally if the discrepancy is bothersome.

2. Maher (1961:122) sides with the higher administrative officials and classifies this movement as something other than a cargo cult. I think he does recognize the connection when he suggests that if economic movements fail, people can turn to the "mystical" solution of cargo cult.

3. A concern with knowledge is manifest in a variety of ways, not just the desire to obtain "the secret" to cargo. For example, in Bun there is a common concern with getting to the "as tru" or truth, root, heart of whatever the matter at hand is. See also Lindstrom 1984.

4. There are a variety of excellent studies that speak directly to these issues. See, especially, Brunton 1971; Burman 1981; Burridge 1960, 1969; Counts and Counts 1976; Errington 1974; Knauf 1978; Lindstrom 1984; Brown 1966; Ogan 1972; Harding 1967; and Gesch 1985.

5. See Errington 1974 for an excellent analysis of how the concept of change provides the parameters in which so-called cargo cult activity takes place.

6. This is related to the imagery that analysts and participants in cargo cults often use to get a handle on their meaning. We and they speak of a "new" that implies radical transformation and discontinuity: new way, new heaven, new earth, new man, new canoe (e.g., Burridge 1969; Errington 1974; Maher 1961; McDowell 1985; Mead 1956).

Of course the contrast between evolutionary and episodic is drawn strongly here to illustrate the differences. It is certainly possible that in any particular society, such a clear-cut distinction might not be tenable. Furthermore, different aspects of change might be conceived in different ways. A further complication arises because although we in the West certainly have an evolutionary view, we tend to impose order on the flow of events we believe to have taken place by categorizing into periods and epochs, thus superimposing an episodic perspective.

7. The first version of this paper was originally written for a symposium on cargo cults in the Sepik area of Papua New Guinea, and therefore most of these examples, especially the ones about economic and political relations, are from the Sepik region. Although some of the ideas I present here may be tied to this particular region, the existence of examples in many other parts of Melanesia suggests that the connections are probably widespread.

8. In some ways, my 1985 paper was a partial reinvention of the Counts' 1976 wheel. I should have been familiar with it but was not. My apologies to David and Dorothy Counts.

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REVIEWS

Judith A. Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons: A History of a Pacific Archipelago, 1800–1978*. Pacific Islands Monograph Series, No. 3. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987. Pp. xxvii, 531, photographs, tables, maps, figures, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$35.00.

Reviewed by Lamont Lindstrom, University of Tulsa

Judith Bennett resurrects the title of a jingoistic, 1910 *Sydney Sun* celebration of the economic potential of the Solomon Islands for her narrative history of these islands. The book is a revised version of her 1979 Ph.D. dissertation, which was subtitled "A History of Trade, Plantations, and Society in the Solomon Islands, 1800–1942." This has been expanded temporally, to encompass events between the outbreak of World War II and Solomon Islands' independence in 1978, and also topically. Although economic history remains the book's focus and also its forte, the volume traces political, mission, and social history as well.

Wealth of the Solomons is based on extensive archival research and also on oral histories that Bennett collected on Guadalcanal, Malaita, San Cristobal, the Shortlands, and New Georgia. To compile and arrange the history of a culturally diverse people who speak over eighty languages and who live on six large and many smaller islands, Bennett builds on three general themes: islanders' various and changing relationships with their environment; the enlargement of local political identities and organizations; and the penetration and transformation of traditional society by powerful, external political and economic forces.

Bennett follows the current pattern in Pacific historiography in that she is concerned with the mutually determining relationship between the capitalist core and the colonized periphery. She documents local environmental conditions and cultural practices that to some degree blunted or deflected the thrust of capitalist penetration. She also traces

islander reaction to imposed economic and political regimes as well as their occasionally successful manipulation of hapless traders, missionaries, and colonial officials. Her discussion of the ways islanders organized politically and economically in reaction to the global depression of the 1930s is perhaps the highlight of the book.

This remains, however, colonial history; a chronology of alien actors and external forces and events forms the framework of the volume. After a reconstruction of Solomon Islands' social life as it may have been in 1800, Bennett follows, chapter by chapter, the progress of capitalist penetration from whalers, to traders, to the establishment of the Protectorate, the development of plantations and cash cropping, the Great Depression and its effects, World War II, and, finally, the lead-up to national independence.

Aside from a mild economism Bennett uses to account for why people made particular choices and decisions, the book is bare of theory. There are a few, spare citations of Wallerstein and one quote from Marx at his least materialistic. I believe the absence of an assertive theoretical apparatus is one of the book's strengths. One can read through this well-written, narrative account without losing oneself along the way in the thorny thickets of theoretical byways. For those whose proclivities run to dependency theory, or to world system theory, there is enough data in the book to fuel any sort of theoretical approach. The volume is crammed with information arranged in its eight appendixes (naval history buffs, look here), in its many figures and tables, and in its excellent maps. For those concerned with women's history, the author, perhaps, did her best as women pop up here and there along the way. On the whole, however, men—both European and islander—dominate the story. This is apparent in the appended list of the more than 178 people Bennett interviewed. Of these, only twenty-three were women.

The book is handsomely produced and well edited for its size. I counted four typos only. Concluding her preface, Bennett hopes "that other histories of the Solomon Islands will follow and that Solomon Islanders will be among the historians. To you especially, I offer this book as a gift and as a challenge. Take it as you will." Most of the rest of us will take it with pleasure. Until those future histories are written, this book will be the standard history of the Solomon Islands.

Michele Stephen, ed., *Sorcerer and Witch in Melanesia*. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1987. Pp. 310, 10 illustrations. \$35.00 cloth.

Reviewed by Marty Zelenietz, Saint Mary's University

Sorcerer and Witch in Melanesia continues the struggle of Melanesianists to overcome the dominance of African-based models in anthropological analysis. In this effort, the book follows a familiar path: a quarter century ago, Barnes's landmark paper (1962) provided Melanesianists the wherewithal to begin breaking the hold of African models on studies of kinship and descent. Now the papers in Stephen's volume, based on a 1982 symposium, extend recent efforts to free the study of sorcery and witchcraft in Melanesia from the constraints of long-established African-based paradigms. As sorcery and witchcraft do not occupy the central focus in anthropological analysis accorded to social organization, there is little hope for their immediate liberation: the African perspective will probably be with us for a while yet. This volume, however, represents an important step in the right direction.

In *Sorcerer and Witch in Melanesia*, we have what amounts to two separate, but related, works. A rich ethnographic collection of case studies forms the first part. These studies constitute a valuable contribution to our knowledge of witches and sorcerers in Melanesia and insure the lasting value of the volume. The contributors could have, however, better integrated their studies with the already available literature on the topic.

Stephen's lengthy concluding essay comprises the second section of the book. In her analysis of the social roles created by beliefs in sorcery and witchcraft, Stephen seeks to provide the distinctive and defining criteria that will allow us to clearly delineate the sorcerer from the witch, and settle once and for all this recurrent and nagging anthropological issue. That this attempt falls somewhat short of the mark is due more to the complexity and depth of the data than to any other factor.

The relationship of sorcery and witchcraft beliefs to other aspects of culture and society forms the dominant theme running through the ethnographic essays. The authors eschew the narrow conflict model "sociological" approach that focuses attention on sorcery accusations. Instead, each contributor relates sorcery and witchcraft beliefs and practices to some salient feature of social life. In his essay on the Garia, Lawrence places sorcery in its total cosmic framework, examining it as an aspect of Garia religion and theology. Stephen provides us with an insider's view of Mekeo sorcery by comparing the sorcerer to the shaman, the mediator of sacred power between the living and the spirit realm, and then looks at the experiential aspects of doing sorcery.

Several essays feature the intertwining of sorcery, witchcraft, and

social conflict. Reay relates sorcery and witchcraft to Kuma warfare, showing that sorcery practices underlie human physical conflict and that the witch represents the "enemy within." In his discussion on Wola conflict management, Sillitoe demonstrates how retributory divination ceremonies, which manipulate otherwise inimical ancestor spirits, stop the debilitating and depopulating effects of revenge-fueled conflict without undermining the revenge principle. Bowden documents the role of Kwoma sorcery beliefs in contributing to the resolution of conflict: in a society where tropical diseases are endemic, and where everyone believes that others practice sorcery but no one every admits it, attempts to cure illnesses become attempts to restore social harmony.

Chowning's essay on the relationship of the Kove quest for shell-money and power brings to the fore a long-established, but oft ignored, fact of Melanesian sorcery: supernatural or occult powers, at the disposal of local leaders, can act as powerful conservative forces in the maintenance of a social system. In the final ethnographic essay, Reibe provides a historical overview of changing Kalam attitudes toward witchcraft and correlates the changes to changing ecological and economic circumstances in Kalam society.

Stephen's concluding paper addresses a number of issues in the study of witchcraft and sorcery that arise from these essays. She dispels some commonly held assumptions about sorcery and witchcraft in Melanesia. The African influence, she argues, led Melanesianists to reverse the indigenous perspective on sorcery: instead of seeing those attacked by sorcerers and witches as victims, the etic perspective rendered those accused of making such attacks as victims. By reversing reality, the African perspective of sorcery and witchcraft as socially condemned behavior has come to predominate over the Melanesian reality of sorcery (if not witchcraft) as often socially acceptable, necessary, and even desirable. As essays by Reay and others indicate, sorcery techniques are often valued as a means of attack against external enemies. Even internally, people such as the Kove (Chowning) and Mekeo (Stephen) may regard sorcery as a necessary and acceptable part of social behavior.

Stephen also argues that witchcraft is far more widespread in Melanesia than commonly assumed. Indeed, the essays demonstrate that witchcraft practices are not restricted to insular southwest Melanesia, being distributed throughout the area of Papua New Guinea.

The argument that sorcery and witchcraft are *not* basically the same phenomenon forms the heart of Stephen's essay. She contends that observers can readily distinguish sorcery from witchcraft on the basis of the social roles created by the beliefs people hold. Sorcery becomes an

attribute of powerful men, a way of gaining social influence, maintaining group order and security, and insuring gift returns. The sorcerer is a socially responsible actor (at least occasionally), the epitome of a human being. Community members can understand the sorcerer's excesses: when a sorcerer goes too far and exceeds acceptable bounds of behavior, his motivations are all too human. In sharp contrast stands the witch, the antithesis of a human being. The witch is the enemy within: a dehumanized member of the community; a vehicle of inhuman, destructive power. Community members attribute witchcraft to those who are outcast and condemned, those who are marginal to society's existence and who threaten that existence. Sorcerers choose their calling: the community chooses witches to fulfill a social role. Sorcerers and witches present two contrasting images of power.

Perhaps the literature does not warrant such sharp distinction between sorcerer and witch. Indeed, Stephen's analytical perspective encounters immediate problems from some of the data presented in the book. Kalam witches, in at least one period of their historical development, served the same social role as sorcerers: the witches who killed you or members of your group were evil, but those who killed *for* you were not. They defended the community. The Kwoma, on the other hand, seem to have sorcery beliefs but no sorcerers: never an admission of responsibility, no one claiming to be a practitioner. Who, then, gains social influence and power from sorcery?

The analysis also suffers from its Western psychological underpinnings, needlessly invoked to try to explain aspects of symbolism in terms of social processes. Stephen chooses to downplay symbolism in favor of social reality to distinguish between sorcerer and witch. Why, then, analyze that unimportant aspect using an alien viewpoint? It leads only to complications and contradictions: once we see the sorcerer as a projection of power and punitive authority, "the father figure writ large," it becomes difficult to accept and rationalize the notion of female sorcerers without getting further into discussions of symbolism and more removed from social reality.

Anthropological theory making is an inductive process, rooted in the experience of ethnography. In the course of doing fieldwork anthropologists internalize, to some degree, the outlook of the people with whom they work. We empathize with the distinctions made by our host populations. Such distinctions "make sense" to us. When we see them in other populations, we identify. When we don't, we are puzzled. Clearly, the perspective of each contributor to this volume reflects the views of the people studied. Our acceptance of the generalizations

drawn from the volume's essays will ultimately depend on how well those generalizations accord with our own experiences and "feel" for the subjects of sorcery and witchcraft.

In all, despite some of its drawbacks, the book makes a valuable contribution to the literature. The essays represent an important addition to the ethnography of sorcery and witchcraft in Melanesia, and Stephen's analysis is sure to stir up lively debate in the years to come.

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Margaret C. Rodman, *Masters of Tradition: Consequences of Customary Land Tenure in Longana, Vanuatu*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987. Pp. 198, maps, tables, bibliography. Can\$21.95, US\$17.95.

Reviewed by Robert L. Rubinstein, Philadelphia Geriatric Center

In this masterful account of economics and social change in Longana, Ambae Island, Vanuatu, Rodman elaborates on two persistent cultural illusions involved in islanders' perceptions of continuity and change. The first illusion, of economic autonomy, disguises the locality's articulation with the wider market system through local production of copra, the economics of which are outside of the villagers' control. The second illusion, that tradition is the coin of modern circumstances, masks emergent inequalities in wealth. These understandings are frameworks for meaningful action.

Masters of Tradition is based on three periods of intensive fieldwork; the focal area, Longana, is typical of much of village Vanuatu. Cash cropping, based on the "need" for money, has been melded with the native system of swidden agriculture, pig raising, and the men's graded society. Thus land, copra, and custom—the modern-day images of traditional things—remain salient themes in Vanuatu, as they had prior to 1980 in the colonial New Hebrides.

One of the many strengths of this book is that it involves a variety of analytic perspectives, including cultural symbolism, formal economics, and the phenomenology of place. Rodman suggests that the role of copra producers in Ambae is rooted in the experience of place, involving the lived-in nature of daily life, cultural notions of landedness, and the

meaning of heritage. To insiders, the powerful nature of accepted “illusions”—those of custom and autonomy—articulate with the experience of place. These ideas are briefly sketched out in the introduction, which also notes that the aim here is to describe “how customary land tenure allows a system of landholding to change while appearing to remain the same” (p. 3).

Such a question cannot be addressed without a working knowledge of the colonial history of Vanuatu and of Longana villagers’ notions about land. In chapters 2 and 3, Rodman shows how the colonial experience shaped feelings about alienated land. Despite the labor trade and land alienation, Rodman stresses the islanders’ roles as bargainers and activists, not passive reactors. Refusal to engage in the labor trade and the reclamation of alienated land no longer producing advantages are just two examples. Rodman shows how the colonial administration affected native societies, namely preserving portions of them while creating new and reinforcing old divisions that enhanced another illusion—this a colonial one—that the unity of the territory required a colonial administration (p. 19). The introduction of coconut cash cropping in the 1930s is a major transition point in the story.

The relationship of land tenure to cultural change is covered extensively. Rodman notes that a Longanan’s “right to land is inalienable, but his claim to any particular piece of land can be won or lost through his actions” (p. 33). As such, principles of affiliation to land can be utilized for land acquisition through strategies aided by knowledge of lands, their histories, and their people. While people and land are intimately bound up in an inalienable way, lands and peoples’ actions and knowledge are also bound together.

The illusion of unchanging tradition is detailed in chapter 4 in a discussion of redistribution of land rights, over time, in response to changing circumstances. A map of some three hundred owned plots and a discussion of their size and ownership is featured. Creation of this was certainly a laborious task, but it has yielded a rich vein of data. Consequences of copra production are discussed, particularly in an account of the basis, in land ownership, of wealth inequalities. In the sample of plantations described by Rodman, the manner of land acquisition and size of holding are painstakingly detailed. Five percent of the sample population controls 31 percent of the total plantation land area. Copra production, in relation to wealth differentials and an emerging category of “rich peasants,” is detailed in chapter 5.

The illusion of autonomy is discussed in chapter 6. Native copra producers are responsive to the prices they are offered for their goods in

particular ways. Rodman discusses the chain of copra production, price changes through the 1970s and early 1980s, the roles of middlemen, and the manufacture, sale, and transport of copra. She finds that producers respond to increasing prices by maintaining or reducing production, because their agenda is to make copra on a cash-for-need basis. This reflects, she feels, the notion that the villagers do not produce copra for regular income, but for specially desired goods and services.

Certainly, as with any account, there are undeveloped areas. Two in particular come to mind. We could use more information on the traditional authority system so that the lived nature of the illusion of tradition could be more easily seen. Similarly, the relationship of copra production, wealth, and land inequality to the national political factions and present government situation seems potentially significant, but is undiscussed. But of course one cannot entirely fault a book for what it is not. What *Masters of Tradition* is, is a significant work, of immediate concern to those with an interest in the Pacific or in development. It is, too, a meticulous account of some of the ways in which people act to construct their own worlds so as to attempt to control their own lives.

Olga Gostin, *Cash Cropping, Catholicism, and Change: Resettlement among the Kuni of Papua*. Pacific Research Monograph No. 14. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University, 1986. Pp. xxi, 170, maps, illustrations, index.

Reviewed by Eugene Ogan, University of Minnesota

In 1963, the New Guinea Research Unit of the Australian National University inaugurated a series of publications designed to present the results of interdisciplinary, applied research carried out in what was then the Territory of Papua New Guinea. The NGRU Bulletins were aimed at a wide audience, including administrative personnel, and eschewed theoretical matters of primary interest only to specialists. Although *Cash Cropping, Catholicism, and Change* is part of a series published by ANU's National Centre for Development Studies, its format and content are firmly in the earlier NGRU tradition, displaying the strengths and weaknesses of the approach.

Gostin's monograph describes the movement of about two thousand speakers of an Austronesian language from scattered hamlets in the foothills northwest of Port Moresby to a concentrated settlement at

Bakoidu, southwest of their mountainous homeland and closer to existing roads and a small airstrip. Unlike many other Pacific island relocation schemes, the Kuni migration was not directed by the government but received its initial impetus from prodding by an individual Roman Catholic missionary, Fr. A. Boell. Beginning in 1961, the Kuni not only abandoned their homeland for a new residential pattern, but also became increasingly involved in the money economy, growing rubber as a cash crop.

The author's fieldwork spanned a twenty-year period. The main bulk of the material presented was gathered in 1963-1965, when a cooperative rubber plantation was being established. This early, extended research formed the basis of the author's 1967 Ph.D. thesis, of which the monograph is obviously a reworked version.

Gostin has presented her material in a relatively straightforward manner, beginning with a "background" chapter including a history of European contact, with special attention to missionization. She then goes on to consider cash cropping and attendant changes in leadership, kinship, and social organization. Chapter 6 describes the syncretic form of Kuni Catholicism that has been incorporated "into the very fabric of everyday life" (p. 107). Chapter 7 focuses on four specific areas of social change: death and mourning customs, birth ceremonial, patterns of distribution and consumption, and "making business"—the increasing commercialization of other social activities. The monograph concludes with a consideration of "the nature of change."

There can be no doubt that anyone interested in social change in Papua New Guinea will find this short monograph useful. The unique circumstances of Kuni resettlement and subsequent developments offer a basis for comparison and contrast with other studies of social change that could enlighten administrators and planners. However, the title seems to promise social scientists more than the work actually delivers. The criticisms that follow relate to such more specialized interests and are not intended to deny the value of Gostin's work for a general audience.

In the first place, the revision of a twenty-year-old thesis always presents problems for author and reader. Even though Gostin takes pains to state that her "ethnographic present" refers to her second, 1971 field trip and adds the results of her final, 1983 visit in the form of post-scripts, the presentation suffers some loss of clarity. There is the related question of how much subsequent scholarship by others should have been incorporated in the new version. One has the feeling that a certain

number of titles have simply been inserted in the bibliography and in footnotes without actually absorbing the relevant content into the monograph.

A social anthropologist is therefore liable to perceive a number of shortcomings. After all the comparative studies of Melanesian social organization published in the last two decades, there is no reason to be surprised that descent—patrilineal in this case—is not the most critical element in Kuni society. By now, most anthropologists who work in the Pacific see descent as only one variable—along with ego-centered kinship, residence, and exchange (especially at marriage)—to which any society gives differing weights in the process of social life. Thus much of the author's discussion of the distinctive "flexibility" of Kuni society really stems from her apparent disregard of modern social analysis. Social scientists should also be aware that the "Catholicism" of the title is discussed only in terms of the specificities of Kuni missionization. There is no consideration of the social and cultural dimensions of Catholicism stemming from the Weberian tradition.

To repeat: there is no reason to demand that author or publisher direct any work to an audience of social anthropologists. Within the constraints that can be traced back to the old NGRU Bulletin series, this monograph is a creditable offering. However, the potential reader should be aware of those constraints, so as to appreciate the positive features of the work without disappointment in a search for something that was never intended.

Patricia K. Townsend, *The Situation of Children in Papua New Guinea*. Boroko, Papua New Guinea: Papua New Guinea Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research for the Department of Finance and Planning, 1985. Pp. 135. K6.00.

Reviewed by L. L. Langness, U.C.L.A. School of Medicine

The Situation of Children in Papua New Guinea is a book-length report prepared by the Papua New Guinea Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research (IASER) for the Department of Finance and Planning. Given the enormity of the task, it is a thorough and competent job that presents a realistic view of the present and future needs of Papua New Guinea's children. Townsend divides children into four categories: infants, young children, school-age children, and youth. In each case she first discusses nutrition and health, then education and general

social welfare. She points out that at each of these four broad stages of life there is a shift in the primary environment of the child. In infancy the mother is all important, in early childhood the extended family, in later childhood the community, and finally it can become the province and the nation.

To the question "Why children?" Townsend replies that (1) they need an advocate as they cannot speak for themselves, (2) they are the future, and (3) they are the main beneficiaries of most national and provincial government expenditures. She points out that traditionally the costs and benefits of having children were not extreme whereas in the rapidly changing, urbanizing environment that exists today this must inevitably change. As children under the age of fifteen make up some 43 percent of the population, this is a situation of great importance.

The most difficult decisions to be made have to do with how to divide the responsibility for meeting the needs of children. That is, should it be the family, kin, village, church, or some other? Townsend does not take a position on this, although she does make cogent suggestions on how to expand existing programs and create new ones.

In every chapter there is much discussion of the family. Townsend is fully aware of the variation in circumstances that can exist for New Guinea families. She suggests that in some cases children probably need protection from the ignorance of their families, whereas in other cases there can be entirely unrealistic expectations of the extent to which families might be able to participate in community and school affairs. As fathers are virtually never mentioned in this report, it is not entirely clear to me what is meant by a "family." Interestingly, this is a problem in the totality of Papua New Guinea ethnography. Fathers are always characterized as being distant or absent or uninvolved and so on. At best they are ignored and at worst maligned. Thus when Townsend writes that "Papua New Guineans take pleasure and pride in their children," one cannot help but wonder if this applies to all Papua New Guineans or only females. This is an important issue that needs to be addressed. For example, Townsend reports that some 60 percent of New Guinea husbands are said to sometimes hit their wives, but there is no mention at all if they also hit their children. Townsend is here at the mercy of another curious aspect of New Guinea ethnography—the virtual absence of detailed accounts of Papua New Guinea childrearing. This is another serious shortcoming in the anthropological record of Papua New Guinea, which we can only hope will soon be rectified.

The chapter on "The Needs of Youth" is perhaps the least clear. As Townsend herself points out, the broad definition of youth employed in

Papua New Guinea includes ages twelve to twenty-four. This raises the question of how meaningful or useful the category of "youth" actually is. As youth, according to Townsend, is "the healthiest, best-nourished age group in Papua New Guinea," it is obvious that their problems lie elsewhere. And, as might be surmised, these problems have to do with education, employment, delinquency, and related matters.

There is a useful appendix summarizing existing policies and legislation for children in Papua New Guinea.

Townsend summarizes by stating the obvious need for policy and planning for children in Papua New Guinea. She offers the volume as a tool with which to begin such discussions. Given the kinds of data that were available to her, the immensity of variation in Papua New Guinea, the difficulties of generalizing, and in many cases the unfortunate lack of information, she has created a very useful tool indeed.

William A. Foley, *The Papuan Languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge Language Surveys. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Pp. xiv, 305. \$54.50 cloth. \$19.95 paper.

Reviewed by Niko Besnier, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The Cambridge Language Surveys series aims to provide general descriptions of the language families and language areas of the world. Foley's *Papuan Languages of New Guinea*, the fourth volume in the series, is an ambitious book on several counts. It is a survey of the 750 Papuan languages spoken in Papua New Guinea and Irian Jaya (also known as Non-Austronesian languages), which represent no less than a fifth of the world's total languages. The structure of only a handful of these languages is documented in any detail. Of many Papuan languages, we know little more than their names. What we do know about the better-documented languages of the area indicates that some aspects of the grammatical structure of Papuan languages are very complex and very diverse. Despite the difficulties involved in surveying such a large, poorly documented, diverse, and structurally complex group of languages, Foley's *The Papuan Languages of New Guinea* is detailed, well documented, and informative.

The book begins with a chapter on "Language in Its Social Context," which describes patterns of multilingualism, language loyalty, and language convergence and divergence, as well as the role of lingua francas such as Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin). In this chapter,

Foley establishes one of the central metaphors that ingeniously runs through the entire book: the tension between diversity and unity in the New Guinea linguistic situation. Drawing on the work of anthropologists like Margaret Mead, Foley states that the ethos of many New Guinea cultures is characterized by a tug-of-war between self-directedness (that is, looking after one's own interests and the interests of one's immediate kin group) and other-directedness (that is, cooperation, altruism, and openness to things foreign). The author then shows that this balance is also at play in patterns of language use: self-directedness is reflected in the extreme linguistic diversity of the region, while other-directedness is evident in patterns of structural convergence in many Papuan languages. Indeed, despite the extreme structural diversity of these 750-odd languages, it is still possible to identify common features in them all.

One of these features is the relative simplicity of their phonological systems, the theme of chapter 3. Typically, Papuan languages have small inventories of basic sounds; indeed, some of the smallest vowel inventories of any language in the world are found in the Papuan linguistic area. Similarly, the pronoun systems of many Papuan languages, described in chapter 4, are extremely restricted. Some languages conflate number and person in very unusual ways; Awa, for example, has a single pronoun to refer to both first- and second-person plural entities (*we* and plural *you*), a pattern that until recently was unknown.

In contrast, the morphological structure of verbs and nouns in Papuan languages, which is covered in chapters 4 and 5, is very complex. Verbs, in particular, have complex inflection systems that encode grammatical notions such as agreement with the subject and the direct object, tense and aspect, and deixis. Furthermore, many Papuan languages have an unusual type of construction called verb serialization, whereby actions are broken down into sub-actions, each of which is represented by a separate verb in a series (for example, *fetch* translates as *go-hold-come-put*). Foley discusses the syntax of verb serialization in chapter 6. Some languages also have switch-reference systems, in which verbs are obligatorily marked with affixes that indicate whether the subject of the verb is identical to or different from the subject of the previous verb in the discourse. For example, the verb *left* in the sentence *he ate and he left* is marked with one affix if the two pronouns *he* in the sentence have the same referent, and with another affix if they refer to two different individuals. Verb serialization and switch-reference are characteristics found in few language areas of the world.

The volume closes with two chapters that deal with the historical

evolution of Papuan languages and the relationship of this evolution to cultural prehistory. Papuan languages are so diverse that very few genetic links can be firmly established among them. They fall into more than sixty families that, as far as we know, are unrelated to each other.

The book's only major flaw is its unsatisfactory treatment of the sociolinguistic situation of the Papuan language area. The chapter on language in its social context examines only the most traditional issues of language choice in a multilingual setting. Although it does so very well, this narrow view of "social context" fails to provide any information on such topics as stylistic variation, literacy, oratory, and language acquisition. The reader will search in vain for references to research such as Rena Lederman's on gender differences in language use in Mendi, William McKellin's on Managalase oratory, Bambi Schieffelin's on language acquisition among the Kaluli, and Andrew Strathern's on Mount Hagen "veiled speech" (metaphorical language used in oratory). Neglecting such important aspects of language and concentrating almost exclusively on language structure is difficult to justify in a general linguistic survey.

Nevertheless, Foley's book does bring together a fascinating body of research. It is well illustrated and clearly written. The volume will not only appeal to linguists, but also to anthropologists and other fieldworkers interested in Papuan-speaking areas of Papua New Guinea and Irian Jaya, who will find it very readable.

G. R. Hawke, *The Making of New Zealand: An Economic History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Pp. viii, 362, figures, tables, bibliography, index. \$44.50.

Reviewed by Thomas R. Cox, San Diego State University

The Making of New Zealand is a tightly written and sophisticated analysis of the economic development of New Zealand from the early days of white settlement to the 1980s. In it G. R. Hawke seeks to delineate how New Zealand has reflected international economic currents and how it has departed from them. He does both convincingly.

Much revolves around key developments: the appearance of practical refrigeration in the late nineteenth century, which made possible meat sales abroad and ended economic stagnation; the advent of a controlled economy in the wake of the exchange crisis of 1938, a development furthered by wartime exigencies soon after; and the devaluation of 1967

and oil crisis of 1973, whose effects exacerbated the dispiriting sense many New Zealanders had that their country was not keeping up with other developed nations. Yet there are important continuities. From the beginning, settlers in New Zealand looked to the colonial government for help in meeting their needs; traditions of active government turned talk of laissez-faire and free trade into empty rhetoric. Ties to Britain were ever strong, reinforced as they were by the cords of commerce and finance. Shortage of foreign exchange was an on-going problem that constrained economic development. And, even in the beginning, New Zealand seems not to have been so much exploited as ignored by the world's major economic powers (including, at times, Britain itself).

Hawke extracts insights from available economic data with the skill one would expect from the author of *Economics for Historians*. His focus is on the macroeconomic picture. He shows the general trends of New Zealand's economic evolution, and in the process demonstrates the shortcomings of various earlier interpretations of such key developments as the Great Depression.

Hawke's approach is at once the great strength and greatest weakness of the work. The famous Dutch historian Pieter Geyl once wrote that "the historian is the guardian of the particular." One gets little sense of the particular, the individual, from this work. The various sectors of the economy are analyzed separately, but the overall picture is painted with broad strokes. The economic fortunes of the Maori are traced in some detail and the problems of the coal mining districts on the west coast of South Island are touched upon, but this only partially alleviates the sense that one is getting of an overgeneralized picture. The changing place in New Zealand's economy of Pacific islands and of Wellington—where, ironically, Professor Hawke teaches—are scarcely alluded to. The rise of Japan as a major trading partner since World War II gets only slightly more attention.

Those steeped in business history will hunger for information on the key entrepreneurs who stood behind events. Those interested in social history will wonder how differences in the dominant ideas of different classes affected decisions and policies, suspecting that New Zealand was never as intellectually homogenous as Hawke's approach makes it seem. Those with a background in historical geography will wonder about the course of change as economic development moved into new areas—there is no sense of frontier, a concept central to analysis of the development of the American West—and will suspect that data for New Zealand as a whole obscure regional variation and the spatial aspects of economic change.

To meet the needs of such readers would necessitate a different book. Hawke has done well what he set out to do. If he leaves business and social historians, historical geographers, and perhaps others hungering for more information, rather than quibbling with his conclusions, that should be taken as a sign of strength. Supplemented though it may be by future works to be written by those operating from different vantage points, *The Making of New Zealand* will surely stand for years to come as the standard analysis of the major trends in the nation's economic development. Those interested in international trade and economic development, not just those concerned with New Zealand per se, will find it of value. Although also intended "for use as a textbook" for courses on the economic history of New Zealand, students will find it heavy going.

Elvi Whittaker, *The Mainland Haole: The White Experience in Hawaii*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985. Pp. 349, illustrated. \$25.00.

Reviewed by Lillian Z. Mason, Brown University

This review concentrates on what I feel is the central contribution of Whittaker's book: the examination of an understudied Hawaiian ethnic group, the mainland Caucasians. These are Caucasians from the continental United States who, with other whites, are referred to as "*haoles*" in the Hawaiian Islands.

From 1778, when the first Caucasians arrived in Hawaii, to 1898, the date of annexation to the United States, *haole* activity in the Hawaiian Islands has been extensively documented. Subsequently, there has been comparatively little published about the more contemporary Caucasians, except for authors such as Lind (1980), Burrows (1947), Hormann (1982), and Samuels (1970).

To provide historical background material, Whittaker skillfully traces the Caucasian involvement in the islands from their discovery in 1778 by Captain James Cook through the arrival of the New England Protestant missionaries. Whittaker pinpoints significant historical features that have had an effect on the present *haole* situation. A number of mainland *haoles* married Hawaiian *alii* (nobles), thereby gaining access to land and power. The results of this, along with the Great Mahele (an act allowing foreigners to buy land), set the stage for the displacement of native Hawaiians from their property. The denigration of indigenous

Hawaiian culture by some of the missionaries and other early Caucasians in the islands, as well as the effects of annexation and statehood, could have been emphasized more by Whittaker to provide a fuller background for present tensions.

In 1847, there were 627 foreigners in Hawaii, with the white population forming an elite group. The term *haole*, Whittaker says, became almost synonymous with high status. Although not sufficiently examined in the book, this superior/inferior dichotomy affected the feelings of native Hawaiians—and later those of other ethnic groups—toward the Caucasians. Descendants of the missionary families and their relatives by marriage are still prominent in the large corporations representing the shipping, investment, sugar, and pineapple industries, we are told, so the situation is ongoing.

As the native Hawaiian population declined, it became necessary to import labor for the plantations. Before long, Chinese and Japanese merchants moved to positions of wealth and status alongside the *haoles*. In 1970, there were 178,531 persons born on the mainland in Hawaii (Schmitt 1977:90–105). By 1980 the Caucasians, including the Portuguese, were 33 percent of the population with the Japanese at 24.8 percent followed by the other ethnic groups, Whittaker states.

While discussing her methodology, Whittaker precipitates an interesting discussion about her search for mainland *haoles* with the distinction between the *malihini* (newcomer) and the *kamaaina* (one born on the islands). Interactional networking solved the problem of finding informants. Interviews helped the author learn that the 1970s and 1980s were “characterized more by amorphous subgroups distinguishable by life-style” (p. 61).

Whittaker approaches the data from a phenomenological viewpoint, which benefits the material. The discovery of her own *haole* ethnicity creates insights illuminating to the reader. “It is a strange existential shift for those who have always thought of others as ethnics, themselves as Americans” (p. 53). During the study, Whittaker became aware of the “continuing shifting realities” (p. 69) and that “objectivity, scientific accuracy, and logical precision are themselves . . . cherished myths” (p. 73). Although informative, this section suffers from too many points of emphasis and some of the peripheral material.

The book thoroughly investigates reasons for the *haole* migration to Hawaii. The author states that the migration narratives of her informants do not fundamentally differ from their earlier predecessors: the attractions of enterprise, economic advantage, and an expatriate sentiment. Those interviewed came to the islands of their own volition seek-

ing a better life. I think that some of the most absorbing and edifying parts of the book are the well-chosen quotes from the informants. The reader is encouraged to experience the data directly from the sources without filtering them through the anthropologist's interpretation.

Whittaker helps us to understand who the contemporary Caucasians are and their place in the islands. According to the book, the *kamaaina* Caucasians hold political and economic power as well as being self-perpetuating as an endogamous clan. The rest of the *haoles* population are executives, technicians, professionals, military, and some "counterculture" (p. 81) adherents who are seeking a place close to the land. There are also a few artists, writers, and performers, plus the tourists. Whittaker admits that a truly satisfying answer as to why people came is not forthcoming. However, the expulsion and attraction (Haddon 1911) or "push and pull" (Rossi 1956) conceptions pervade the narratives and structure how the mainland *haoles* see their own behavior, the author writes.

In the chapter "Nature as Mediated Metaphor," there is a discussion of the South Seas construct. This fantasy, created with Western symbols, filled the minds of many migrating *haoles* and was projected by them onto the islands. Their desire to transform Hawaii into another version of home is also mentioned. Said's analysis of Orientalism (1978) could be usefully introduced here. Against this background, *haoles* struggle to maintain the illusions based on their cherished fantasy, Whittaker explains. These, she tells us, are challenged by actual discovery because there is alienation and the threat of unknown places. This they must accept while retaining some of the mystery and fantasy that brought them to the islands.

We are told that some Caucasians decry the "rape of Hawaii" (p. 118), of the land and of people's sensitivities, often by entrepreneurs and tourists. This desecration has destroyed the paradise of their dreams by exploitation and crowding. The book states that development irritates many *haoles* who abhor the skyscrapers and pejoratively call the tower cranes of Waikiki "the national bird of Hawaii" (p. 124). I feel that this creates a significant dilemma for the Caucasians, since many who desecrate the landscape and sensitivities are themselves Caucasians.

At the present time, more and more mainland *haoles* are arriving to settle, while many others are forming part of the fast-multiplying tourist population, we learn. During 1976, overnight visitors totaled 3.25 million, Whittaker writes. Native Hawaiian activists, feeling displaced along with others of Polynesian ancestry, have been agitating for social

disenfranchisement, a return to Hawaiian culture, ecological preservation, and a limit to commercial expansion. In Whittaker's view, this activism has its roots in the early *haole* history, as noted; however, it now is escalating with the addition of present events. It brings dissension to the islands and affects feelings and relations with the whites today, Whittaker adds.

In an informative section, the author argues for the particularly deep connection to the land found in the indigenous Hawaiian culture. The Hawaiians have a "feeling of organic and spiritual identification with the 'aina (homeland) and 'ohana (kin)" (Handy and Pukui 1958:28), a significant point. "Many mainland *haole* are torn between the consciousness into which they were born, which advocates 'domestication of the landscape,' and the consciousness born of their commitment to honor the authentic and indigenous" (p.124). This is an astute conclusion. The author adds that it is part of the *haoles'* romantic self-image that they should acknowledge the poignant truths of native Hawaiian beliefs.

Two of the most interesting quotes from Caucasian informants reveal how some are affected by native Hawaiian beliefs and mythology. One thought that he gave a ride to Pele, the Hawaiian volcano goddess, in her human form. Others, after breaking sacred and state law by gathering forbidden greens, felt what they believed to be the wrath of the waterfall goddess: one of these informants stated that the goddess nearly killed him when she dropped giant boulders near where they were standing. The author, however, reveals her own cultural preconceptions when she states, "All too frequently the white people of Hawaii stand uncomfortably with one foot in the reasonable, rational world of North America and the other in the mystic truths of an ancient and strange culture" (p. 125).

Whittaker develops insights into *haole* ethnicity and perceptively analyzes it in her excellent chapter "Rituals of Inequality: Ethnicity and the *Haole*." The theoretical framework is ethnicity as a social construction. For some, pluralism is a kind of ethnic segregation, the book tells us, which is a new form of colonialism. "A sense of exclusion is a component of ethnic awareness" (p. 148), the author adds.

The book's information about the Caucasians' feelings when they are exposed to ethnic difficulties is a worthwhile addition. In Whittaker's view, some *haoles* compare themselves to blacks on the mainland, with a concomitant feeling of powerlessness. (I note here that a number of mainland blacks do not feel powerless, so perhaps this represents these Hawaiian *haoles'* view of blacks as a totality.) There is a *haole* ethnic

stigma. When Caucasians are denied jobs or housing because of ethnic prejudice, it affronts their Western liberal conscience. They detect discrimination in politics, economic pursuits, and everyday interaction. Of course, according to Whittaker, there are those who deny it and believe that certain Caucasians bring it on themselves by poor behavior and manners. Those who feel this way assert that racial harmony still exists in Hawaii.

To Whittaker's credit, she gives us a realistic view of some ethnic and racial problems in the islands. She describes a *haole* perception of self: "Sooner or later they confront their own whiteness, and come to understand that this very whiteness makes of them objects of suspicion, dislike, or ridicule" (pp. 155-156) as they have their inevitable meetings with Hawaii's other ethnic groups. The idea that the stigma is supported by some kind of consensus, we learn, is even harder to accept than the stigma itself.

This section about prejudice toward whites is, in my opinion, one of the most sensitive and illuminating in the book. The quote by one informant as to how she tries to be meek and humble to avoid discrimination by the non-*haole* helps us to understand the emotions involved. Having also been a *haole* during my Hawaiian fieldwork, I can attest to the authenticity of what Whittaker and her informants are describing.

Often Caucasians refuse to acknowledge that reasons other than their ethnicity, such as the experiences of landlords in Hawaii with unreliable mainland renters, may account for some of their difficulties. However, the book states that in the workplace one could argue that "power is allocated or denied on the basis of ethnicity" (p. 158).

From Whittaker, we learn that Caucasians in the islands must deal with negative stereotyping about *haoles*. Some whites feel that those who are prejudiced against them will have to change their opinions as soon as suitable evidence is presented. However, there are "rituals of inequality unique to the Hawaiian Islands" (p. 165). "There is a resurrection of the mainland notion of pluralism—peace through the glorification of differences" (p. 163), the book reports.

In a perceptive accounting, Whittaker depicts the responses of some newcomers to the prejudice. They believe that their envisioned happy coexistence is not working because they have not correctly portrayed their eagerness to get along peacefully. Consequently, they adjust their behavior to one of visible humility, "sometimes even an embarrassing obsequiousness" (p. 165). Even more, "it is as if a display of public unworthiness was the essential requirement for the attainment of equal-

ity" (p. 166). Others react by becoming extremely outgoing and jovial in what the book labels as the "ritual of righting behavior."

There are those who respond by self-reflection on what in their own characters or beliefs causes this discrimination, she tells us. Others, such as one informant quoted, saw the reaction of ethnic groups toward them as a backlash to "crass American power and insensitivity abroad" (p. 167). Another informant declared, "the underground hatred here is the worst of any place in America, I think. On the mainland it's expressed openly. Here it's hidden. But the hatred here is much more intense" (p. 167). The author relates that some believe ethnic confrontation is an inevitable part of life, while others reason that they merely occupy another ethnic or racial niche.

Whittaker gives us facts that add to our understanding of the situation. Violence and acts of exclusion threaten the Caucasians' comfort and freedom. Whites serve as scapegoats for impotent rage, which becomes naked aggression (p. 168). "Kill *haole* day" (p. 170) is mentioned as a ritual in Hawaiian schools that formalizes the badgering and hazing of whites. However, acts of exclusion are more prevalent. The author mentions that there are problems with what Caucasians see as a Japanese hegemony with Japanese running the state government and excluding whites.

Discussion includes the "token white" (p. 173) syndrome that emerged in the last half-decade. Reverse discrimination, ethnic pejoratives, and stereotyping create problems for the *haoles* as well as for members of other ethnic groups. Ethnic discomfort of the mainland Caucasians is cited as one reason why some whites return to the mainland to live while others move into *haole* neighborhoods.

The liberal consciousness of the mid-twentieth century is revealed in all its propensity for self-criticism and guilt, Whittaker writes. This translates into *haoles'* being ashamed of fellow Caucasians who sometimes only have white friends, know nothing about Hawaiian traditions, and are greedy or disrespectful toward island customs and people. According to Whittaker, by admitting and even embracing guilt, the admission of guilt is a kind of absolution (p. 188).

The author states that ethnicity is the lingua franca of Hawaii, an "inescapable inevitable" (p. 189). She interprets the phenomenon of ethnicity as a mirror, reflecting first the Western world, second the anthropologist or other documenter, and third the differences among Hawaiian people. It verifies, she continues, the Western consciousness, which is a portrait of Hawaii, with Hawaii being a place and a fantasy

that European imperatives fashioned. In this analysis, the turbulence of these islands becomes one between competing dogmas or cultures (p. 192). To me, it is interesting that the counterpoint between the ideal of ethnic harmony and the fact of ethnic tensions continues in an unrelieved dialectic.

Many newcomers refuse to accept the prevalent ethnic paradigm because it differs from their liberal hopes, we are told. I feel that Whittaker's discussion about ethnicity and prejudice is valuable and well written, helping to shed light on this complex and ambiguous topic. Whittaker discerns that if we could see ethnicity as a Western construction, our interpretation might be more valid. This leads me to contemplate what new model we might construct to replace the ethnicity paradigm and whether it will be more helpful in solving the problems.

Noteworthy supplements to the text are the fascinating photographs, which add another dimension in our attempts to understand the circumstances of the mainland *haoles* and their lives in the islands. Many were chosen from the superb collections of the Bishop Museum, the Hawaiian Historical Society, and the Hawaii State Archives.

Whittaker is at her best, I found, when she writes with simplicity and directness about the *haole* in Hawaii and uses her fascinating material in this manner. In the sections where this takes place, the style makes the author's considerable knowledge about her topic readily accessible to readers of many backgrounds. However, sometimes the reader's attention is diverted by confusing and seemingly extraneous scholarly intricacies and references, which could bog down all but the most dogged academics.

Although there is much analysis of the prejudice felt by Caucasians, I think the book would be better balanced by a glimpse of those Caucasians who are accepted, even loved, by various members of Hawaii's ethnic groups.

On the whole, Whittaker deals competently with difficult and complex material and provides a meaningful contribution to the body of Oceanic literature.

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Louise Hanson and F. Allan Hanson, *The Art of Oceania: A Bibliography*. Reference Publications in Art History. Boston, Mass.: G. K. Hall and Co., 1984. Pp. xviii, 539, indexes. \$65.00 clothbound.

Reviewed by Renée Heyum, University of Hawaii

Those who are interested in Oceanic art owe a debt of gratitude to Louise and Allan Hanson, who have provided us with an excellent reference tool. It is, in fact, the first bibliography that brings together articles and books as well as exhibit and sale catalogues related to, describing, and attempting to analyze in terms of function and aesthetics the multitude of visual art forms that flourished and continue to flourish in Oceania, where even utilitarian objects, if not decorated, have at least beautiful, harmonious forms.

During two years of intensive work, armed with a computer, the Hansons combed libraries and museums in Europe, New Zealand, and the United States for any printed items concerning Oceanic art, often finding them in journals that generally do not focus on art but may have one or two articles in their entire series. The 6,650 works they have included date from the "Artificial Curiosities" of the eighteenth century to contemporary art and artists such as Albert Namatjira of Australia and Aloisio Pilioko of Wallis Island. Excluded are dance, music, and literature.

The book is arranged primarily along geographic lines, with separate sections for Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia, and Australia, in addition to a section that lists works dealing with more than one region or with Oceania in general. Entry numbers, however, run consecutively throughout the book. This arrangement facilitates access to the litera-

ture. The more than four hundred entries of the sale catalogues section are arranged by city, auction house, and date of sale with (whenever possible), the name of the collection that was being sold.

G. K. Hall is to be commended for using a variety of typefaces. These and the format of the entries make the book easy to use.

Non-English literature is included, a fact to be noted with appreciation, as many bibliographies ignore foreign literature. Non-English titles are always translated. Whenever a title is incomplete or does not clearly reflect the work's contents, the authors have provided a short, concise annotation.

There are three indexes in this remarkable work: a personal name index; a title index; and a subject index, which is combined with a geographical index. On the latter I have to express some reservations. The subject-geographical index might have benefited from more specific geographical and subject headings, as the uninterrupted lists of item numbers that occur under some of the headings could prove intimidating to the user. But this can be remedied in the next edition.

Libraries, museums, and researchers in the field of Oceanic art and ethnography will find *The Art of Oceania: A Bibliography* a most useful tool. The books and articles included will also be of interest to social historians, for they illustrate the major changes that have occurred over the past centuries in the understanding and appreciation of these masterful manifestations of human creativity.

Leslie B. Marshall, ed., *Infant Care and Feeding in the South Pacific. Food and Nutrition in History and Anthropology*, vol. 3. New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1985. Pp. 355. \$58.00 hard-cover.

Reviewed by Patricia K. Townsend, Houghton College, Houghton, New York

Not merely a child health manual for the South Pacific as the title might suggest, this volume is broadly significant for those who are interested in women, children, food, or health. By discussing the factors influencing the feeding of infants in changing Pacific societies, the contributors highlight many critical issues of human welfare in the region. This is a well-integrated collection of nineteen papers that grew out of a symposium of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, held in 1983 following a working session on the same topic in 1982. Readers of

Ecology of Food and Nutrition will already have seen twelve of the nineteen papers, which are reprinted from that journal.

Fifteen of the papers are predominantly ethnographic. Of these, ten are concerned with Papua New Guinea (Marshall, Jenkins et al., Lepowsky, Montague, Conton, Tietjen, Barlow, Counts, Chowning, Carrier). Two deal with the Solomon Islands (Akin, Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo), two with Fiji (Morse, Katz), and one with Western Samoa (Nardi). The distribution of societies was opportunistic, and readers should be cautious about generalizing from this sample to the Pacific as a whole, or even to all of Papua New Guinea. (In all fairness, the editor and discussants do not encourage us to draw such inferences.) The PNG papers mostly concentrate on middle-income rural areas, neglecting all of the least developed, westernmost provinces, which regularly report the highest levels of malnutrition and infant and toddler mortality. At the other end of the spectrum, lacking papers from the Highlands and the affluent provinces of East New Britain and North Solomons, we cannot easily judge how infant feeding is affected by women's participation in cash cropping. One contribution of this publication will be to serve as a model for and encourage this needed research.

Marshall's own research in Port Moresby, in addition to providing data on urban infant feeding (chap. 2), positioned her to communicate her enthusiasm to other researchers entering PNG to undertake the field studies that produced several of the other papers. Her contribution thus goes beyond that of editor and conference organizer to that of midwife for research.

The authors are predominantly women anthropologists, and the several whose disciplinary origins are outside cultural anthropology have also made use of ethnographic methods. Even so, the papers are methodologically diverse. They confirm the value of combining complementary methods including direct observations of behavior, interviews, and biomedical data such as measurements of children's weight, height, and upper arm circumference and food consumption. The most sophisticated among the papers is the one by Jenkins, Orr-Ewing, and Heywood, who collected high-quality data of all these types. However, some of the papers with the thinnest data, relying on anecdotal participant-observer data from fieldwork in which infants were not even the major topic of research, make trenchant observations of special usefulness to health workers. Montague, for instance, notes the discrepancy between the Trobriand dietary ideal (yams/taro), which is likely to be emphasized in responding to nutrition surveys, and the actual foods eaten by Trobriand children.

Four discussants provide commentary on the ethnographic papers. Bambi Schieffelin notes that beliefs and social context influence feeding choices, which vary among individuals as well as across the societies. Biddulph comments as a pediatrician with special interest in breast-feeding. Gussler draws together threads concerning women's work, noting what is perhaps the most striking of the general findings: that even rural women in subsistence economies may find it difficult to combine breast-feeding with their extra-household subsistence tasks. Van Esterik praises the contribution that the papers make to major questions of cultural anthropology beyond the applied/health care area and the Pacific region.

Since some may balk at paying this price for an inexpensively bound text edition with many of the papers available elsewhere, purchasers should note that they may write the publisher, Gordon and Breach, for details of a book discount plan called the Science and Arts Society. Pacific ethnographers and other students of social change will find this a valuable and stimulating source of data on too-often neglected interactions among women's economic activities, social organization, the socialization of children, cultural beliefs about food, and health.

Lenore Manderson, ed., *Shared Wealth and Symbol: Food, Culture, and Society in Oceania and Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Pp. 314, illustrated. \$42.50 cloth.

Reviewed by Miriam Kahn, University of Washington

Shared Wealth and Symbol is a collection of articles whose common concern is food. The book is monumental in geographical scope (covering Australia, Oceania, and Southeast Asia) and diverse in methodological and theoretical approaches (dealing with ecology, politics, symbolism, development, and more). The contributions are generally of extremely high quality, rich in ethnographic detail, and well written. The topic, however—food in various regions of the world and in every imaginable context—is overly ambitious. Indeed, the volume's lack of focus, a weakness common among edited volumes, is its downfall.

The introduction does little to provide the reader with a sense of unity and direction. Because, as the editor warns, each paper "explores a particular area of inquiry" (or, in other words, does not speak to a common theme, or even to other articles within the volume), the introduction does not relate the articles to one another. Instead, in keeping with the

volume's ambition and comprehensiveness, Manderson presents an astonishingly well-researched overview of the literature on food—or, rather, on the numerous symbolic uses to which food is put. As we read on, though, we see that despite its title and its introductory remarks, the volume is not simply about food symbolism. Manderson also informs the reader that “because of its essentiality,” food is both a biological necessity and a symbol for communication. And, indeed, the chapters approach food from both of these angles and from others as well.

In an attempt to organize the volume, Manderson has divided it into four sections. These are: (1) the ecological, economic, social and political contexts of diet, all of which influence food systems and dietary choices; (2) the cognitive and ideational aspects of food, hunger, and eating; (3) infant feeding practices, as well as changes in these practices due to the intervention of multinational corporations and government agencies that promote bottle feeding; and (4) methodological issues raised in food research and suggestions for nutritional anthropologists in conducting future research.

Since the lack of a theme prevents me from discussing the individual articles in terms of their contribution to the volume as a whole, and since a review of all thirteen chapters would become unnecessarily tedious and diffuse, I have chosen to discuss and review only a select few. I have selected those articles that seemed most valuable and compelling, making an effort to include papers that represent each of the volume's four sections as well as the various geographical regions and theoretical interests.

The first article, by David Hyndman, on the subsistence system of the Wopkaimin of the Highland fringe of Papua New Guinea, is a commendable model of rigorous methodological principles and sensible presentation of techniques when dealing with ecological data. Hyndman analyzes the flow of energy among the Wopkaimin in their practices of shifting cultivation, silviculture, gathering, pig raising, hunting, and fishing. Throughout, he spells out the details of his methodology, alerts the reader to possible weaknesses in his data, and presents his results within a comparative framework. His statistics support facts about New Guinea Highlanders' diets and nutritional levels that are generally known, but not always so well documented as in this article. For example, we learn that more than 90 percent of the bulk of the Wopkaimin diet is provided by plant food-getting activities. Yet 95 percent of the fat and nearly 45 percent of the protein are supplied from animal food-getting activities (p. 44). His conclusions demonstrate the dietary adequacy and the ecological efficiency of Wopkaimin traditional subsistence sys-

tems. His article would have been still more effective had he placed his discussion within a more theoretical framework, or even within the context of the ongoing debate about the adequacy/inadequacy of traditional Highland New Guinea diets.

Thomas Fitzgerald's contribution on dietary change among Cook Islanders who have migrated to New Zealand is also appealing. He examines sixty-two households of Cook Islanders in New Zealand, thirty-one from an inner-city community and thirty-one from a suburban residential neighborhood. Fitzgerald, like Hyndman, begins by fully explaining his research methods. He then examines various aspects of the migrants' patterns of consumption, such as the oscillation between periods of "feast" and "famine," the prevalence of snacking, the maintenance of subsistence gardens, and the preference for New Zealand-style meals with island touches. His discussion of health is of particular interest. Obesity (as opposed to coronary artery disease, hypertension, gout, diabetes, and liver disease, all of which are threateningly on the rise) is the only problem Islanders view as being related to diet. Obesity, however, is not seen as a health problem by Islanders, who view food as something to enjoy and to manipulate socially, but not as a source of nutrients. Fitzgerald also presents insightful descriptions of how Cook Islanders imagine the eating habits of Europeans and on the misconceptions of professional health care workers about Islanders' food habits. With its emphasis on the difference between documented reality and outsiders' misguided perceptions of it, his article offers significant practical applications. First of all, several stereotypes (for example, that Islanders have problems adapting to New Zealand foods, that their children go to school without breakfast, that they know little about maintaining gardens, or that they avoid eating vegetables) are shown to have no basis in fact. Moreover, observations are made in the areas of meal scheduling, snacking patterns, food exchanges, and attitudes toward the relationship between diet and health that could be put to productive use when teaching Islanders about health issues. Fitzgerald suggests that once New Zealanders become more familiar with island customs, reliable information about food values could be presented to Islanders in a clear educational format. He sees this task as the real challenge for health care workers and as the basis for future success in medical care.

In the section on cognitive aspects of food, Michael Young's paper stands out as the most significant contribution. In a well-written, perceptive, and discursive account, Young presents the ideology of hunger in Kalauna, on Goodenough Island in Papua New Guinea. Appetite, he

observes, is almost universally understood as being cultural, yet hunger is consistently treated as physiological. Here he challenges previously held viewpoints and examines hunger as a construct equally rooted in cultural beliefs. Exploring the parameters of the cultural definition of hunger in Kalauna, he tells us that there hunger is experienced in the belly with heightened anxiety, objectified as a sorcery-inflicted disease, and perceived as a threat to the community (p. 113). Just as food can be interpreted and manipulated as a symbolic expression of kinship and community, a lack of food, or what is experienced as such, may represent social disintegration and the collapse of moral values. Young develops this contrast between food and its absence further in a symbolic analysis of notions of stillness (in times of satiety and social cohesion) and wandering (in times of hunger and social disintegration).

Only in a section about food and diet, when Young says that Kalauna food is "bland, bulky, and . . . deadly monotonous" (p. 115) and that "Kalauna people appear to be indifferent cooks" (p. 115), does his sensitivity seem to vanish. True, the Kalauna cooking style may not be to his, or to most Westerners', liking, but why be judgmental in an article that otherwise argues for the value of cultural interpretations? Perhaps the quality of cooking and the degree of importance ascribed to it should be measured in terms of amounts of magic, not spicy ingredients, added. If, as Young tells us, food is a vehicle for magic, then its sameness might serve to inhibit suspicion. In sum, if food and hunger are cultural constructs, then why not taste as well?

The chapters in the section on infant-feeding practices are of especially high quality. Two articles are of particular interest when read together because they present different sides of the breast-bottle controversy (although, astonishingly, neither article refers to the other). These are the chapters by Marianne Spiegel, who writes a balanced and cautious article arguing for an understanding of the complexity of the issues, and Kathy Robinson, who presents an extremely convincing polemic about the deleterious effects of what she consistently refers to as "artificial feeding practices."

Spiegel examines the breast-bottle controversy in Malaysia in such an exhaustive manner that the reader feels thoroughly grounded in the complexities of the issues and, consequently, capable of making an informed judgment. Spiegel first presents the pro-breast argument, discussing such issues as the biological advantage of breast milk in providing immunological protection and in shielding infants from the dangers of infection transmitted by polluted water, contaminated bottles, and lack of refrigeration. She also draws attention to the economic and con-

traceptive benefits of breast-feeding, as well as to the generally greater convenience of the practice. Lacking from her presentation on the virtues of breast-feeding is a fuller discussion of its psychological benefit to mother and infant. Later, in taking a pro-bottle stance, she recounts Nestle's position, which emphasizes the need for early supplementation and the promotion of mixed feeding. Throughout, Spiegel lets the reader know that there are no simple answers. Malnutrition is not caused by bottle feeding alone, but by complex interactions between social groups and government policies. She suggests that testable hypotheses can only be formulated from contextual domestic group research. As she states in her conclusions, she is not so naive as to view multinationals as "deliberate agents of individual socioeconomic enhancement" (p. 190), nor does she see the pro-breast faction as interested only in the welfare of individuals. Indeed, she finds it alarming that in all of the recent heated discussions relatively little attention has been paid to women's rights, roles, and feelings, and that current Western ideology and cultural categories are used to examine conditions in Third World countries. Her point is well taken, and causes one to pause and reflect on her final observation that "whereas milk industry motives are relatively transparent, those of pro-breast coalitions are puzzling" (p. 190).

Should we still be unclear on the "relatively transparent" motives of milk industries, Robinson's article provides excellent documentation and discussion of one such capitalist enterprise. Her anti-bottle stance is emphatic. She first outlines the process of milk industries' encroachment on the Third World. As families in wealthy nations began to shrink in size, and as more Western women turned to breast-feeding as a healthier, more natural way to nourish their babies, milk companies looked to Third World nations as a way to save their declining industry. In this context of general capitalistic expansion, Robinson examines the activities of the Australian Dairy Corporation (ADC) in detail. When its business was faltering in the 1960s and 1970s, with the final blow being the loss of its largest single dairy export market, the United Kingdom, the ADC turned to Asia. It bought up Asia Dairy Industry, which promoted sweetened condensed milk as a substitute for breast milk. In a later section, Robinson looks at the history of the operations of one ADC joint venture plant, P. T. Indomilk, and examines the effects of its activities on the host country. The most serious criticism of P. T. Indomilk derives not from the nature of the investment (the employment of local people, etc.) but from the quality of the product itself, the consequences of its extensive use, and its misrepresentation in advertisements. Robinson supports her position with references to data collected

during a two-year period of fieldwork in a Javanese mining community. There, sweetened condensed milk turned out to be no more than an expensive form of sugar that was not only unsuitable as a milk substitute for babies, but was capable of causing blindness from vitamin A deficiency.

Viewing Robinson's article as a rebuttal to Spiegel's (or vice versa), one is struck by a major aspect of the issue that Spiegel, in all her thoroughness, fails to address adequately—namely, the manipulative promotion of foreign products. According to Robinson, it is not necessarily the product itself that is bad, but the way in which it is promoted and falsely represented. Sweetened condensed milk, when used in appropriate amounts and contexts, may be an excellent dietary supplement. Its promotion as a substitute for breast milk, however, is dishonest, commercially motivated, and dangerous. According to Robinson, the declining and economically unsound milk industry is, in essence, propped up “at the expense of the health—even the lives—of Southeast Asian babies” (p. 234).

The last section of *Shared Wealth and Symbol*, called “Research Method and Direction,” is an assortment of loose strands and, as such, is the least successful part of the book. The final article, by Graham Pyke, is the most noteworthy in its provocative argument for an understanding of the genetic basis of food behavior. Pyke, a biologist whose research is on the feeding ecology of nonhuman animals, believes that “there should also, of course, be genetic underpinnings of the cultural interactions. At some level, the responses to observation and symbolic communication *must* be genetically programmed” (p. 275). Pyke's contribution is of interest primarily because he tackles, head-on, a controversial aspect of the food issue—namely, biology versus culture. In his analysis, he applies conclusions from work done on animals to the human animal. For example, research has demonstrated that all animals' dietary choices are influenced by food properties such as color, taste, and odor, by an individual's state of health, by hunger and nutritional deficiencies, and by social interaction with other individuals. The physical environment also exerts an influence. Pyke notes the lack of sufficient studies on dietary choices and how such choices are made. He gives two reasons for exploring the genetic components of dietary choices. First, human beings should, especially in the face of increasing exposure to artificial foods, understand their innate abilities to choose a nutritionally balanced diet. Second, it is important to have an understanding of genetically based constraints on peoples' food-related behavior.

With Pyke's article, curiously and precariously placed at the conclusion of the volume, *Shared Wealth and Symbol* has pivoted 180 degrees from the direction established in the introduction, where Manderson elaborates on all the ways in which food behavior is cultural, not biological. After finishing the volume, the reader is left feeling sated and inspired, but somewhat confused. Why were the ingredients assembled with such a seeming lack of design? Should the volume not have focused on *either* the biological or the symbolic? Or, if the biological/symbolic basis of food issues were truly to be tackled, could the focus not have been the controversy about genetic versus cultural factors involved in food behavior and food choices? When we first open the book, we read that food is noteworthy for two reasons: "food is important simply to sustain biological life. However, because of its essentiality, food largely features as the matter and symbol of social life" (p. 1). Undoubtedly, the editor is still trying to address all aspects of her subject, as are the various authors with their contributions on the ecological, economic, health-related, social, political, ideological, and methodological aspects of food and food research. As individual articles, the contributions are mostly excellent. As a unified collection bound between two covers, however, *Shared Wealth and Symbol* is unsuccessful. This lack of focus is especially disappointing in an area such as food, where there are so many theoretical avenues from which to choose and so many qualified researchers willing to offer contributions.

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